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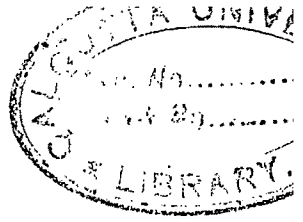
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The October number of the JOURNAL had already been set in type at the time of the death of Dr. C. W. E. Miller on August 7, 1934. An obituary notice will appear in the following number.

B. D. MERRITT.



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QUOTATIONS FROM LUCAN IN MEDIAEVAL LATIN AUTHORS.

Whether we lament or rejoice that classical quotation has become very nearly a lost art, we cannot but recognize the value of its past popularity in affording us a gauge of literary and historical tastes, as a not unimportant element in the study of the transmission of ancient authors. Poetry is always more freely quoted than prose, and epic verse is particularly adapted by its subject, metre and style to citation of the most diverse variety. Lucan's *Pharsalia* was, next to the *Aeneid*, the most popular classical epic in the Middle Ages, but, unlike Vergil's work, makes little appeal to the majority of classical students today. Hence the constant use of Lucan's verses affords ample material for a study of the manner and functions of classical quotations in mediaeval literature, in which critical analysis is furthered by the necessity of accounting for the popularity of a work now little esteemed. The thousands of citations from Lucan in the works of hundreds of authors form a mass of evidence which is not readily reducible to small compass. Their range and variety is in itself so significant as to make selection doubly difficult, but a general classification and a few examples may give a fair picture and attract some attention to this phase of the transmission of classical culture.¹

¹ To avoid an undue bulk of footnotes documentation has been reduced to a minimum in this paper, and bibliographical references are given chiefly in case of direct quotation. As far as possible the best editions of the authors cited have been used, together with monographs on their sources and on Lucan's influence. The latter, however, rarely touch directly on the subject of this paper. There is no single adequate summary of citations from Lucan available, but the fullest list, and one

Quotations in independent works are supplemented by the many marked passages, ranging from single verses to selections a hundred lines or more in length, found in manuscripts of Lucan, as of other favorite authors, and by many similar but rarely identical selections in numerous *florilegia*. In these three sources I have found some 3870 lines (of the 8060 in the whole poem) either quoted or marked for special notice, and a very large number with only a single citation or notation. The range is so wide and the combinations of lines in the authors and manuscripts so diverse and so much at variance with the selections in the *florilegia*, themselves of endless variety, as to refute the idea that all these citations are regularly derived from the *florilegia* rather than from personal knowledge. The many citations in Priscian and other grammarians also fail to supply a common source, which is the more natural since the lines that illustrate a trick of metre or syntax, or contain a rare word, are not often the most useful to the historian or the moralist, or the poet who seeks to embellish his verse with a classical tag. Again, the Lucan citations in early inscriptions have little in common with those in literary works.²

It seems inevitable to conclude that Lucan was often quoted directly, and the more stubborn adherents of the *florilegia* theory may take refuge in the thought that educated men would be sure to remember many lines of a school poet, though they never read his work after leaving school. Yet those mediaeval authors who turned directly to Lucan for the happy phrase to describe a battle, hero, snake or river, an eclipse of the sun, or other portent, God or the devil, the crime of avarice or the virtue of a Cato's rigid honesty, did not go unrewarded.

Comparatively free from errors in citation, is that of Manitius in *Philologus* LI (1892), 704-719. The same author's articles on late Latin poets in *Rh. Mus.* XLIV (1889), 540-552, and L (1895), 315-320, and in *Zeitschr. f. d. österreichischen Gymnasien* XXXVII (1886), 81-101, 241-254, 401-411 are also useful. All these, however, merely list citations, and do not indicate their character or context.

² See C. Hosius in *Rh. Mus.* XLVII (1892), 463; L (1895), 286-300. Hosius remarks that the apparent citations in many inscriptions are from lines in general use, not from direct reading of the poets, and in many cases are merely catch-phrases. Yet, except for the ever popular characterization of Cato (*Phars.* ii. 389 ff.) few of the lines in the inscriptions are among those much quoted by mediaeval authors.

The frequency of citations from Lucan in popular works must have led many to consult him directly or to cite his epic at second-hand, who would not otherwise have read it. Occasionally they quoted under his name a verse of Ovid or Juvenal or some unidentified tag, and pseudo-Lucan citations appear in the *florilegia* as well. The quotations in the first volume of the *Poetae Latini Aevi Karolini* are all, with two exceptions (one the very familiar ii. 339 on Cato, the other a line quoted from Isidore) from the first book of the *Pharsalia*: did the early Carolingians read only the first book, as some later students have done? Suger, whose frequent citations are almost evenly distributed between the more and the less familiar lines, showed a little too much of the conscious labor of fitting the quoted word to the action when he wrote: *cum alius mortem, alius exheredacionem tantum formidaret, versus ille eis aptari poterat*:

solatia fati
Cartago Mariusque tulit.³

A more flexible handling of Lucan's phrase is seen when a verse was altered in the quotation so that its meaning was reversed, heightening the effect if the author rightly assumed that his readers were as familiar with the original as he was. So Albertinus Mussatus apostrophized Can Grande before the walls of Padua:

Bella geris multos habitura triumphos.⁴

And Nigellus Wireker's Brunellus, whose university career would naturally lead him to muddle his historical allusions, must have provoked many readers to mirth when he perpetrated such a howler as

Mitius in duris sapiens Cato mandat agendum
Mollia ne pereant asperitate gravi.⁵

The letters of Abelard and his circle show how natural it was to seek moral support in Lucan's words. He himself re-

³ *Vie de Louis le Gros*, ed. Waquet (Paris, 1929), 92, quoting *Phars.* ii. 91-92.

⁴ *De Gestis Ital.* ix, ed. Muratori, *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum* X, 694; cf. *Phars.* i. 12.

⁵ *Speculum Stultorum*, ed. Wright, *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets* (London, 1872), I, 21. Contrast *Phars.* ix. 37 ff.

cords how the thought of Cornelia's lament strengthened Heloise's determination to take the veil. He quoted Lucan several times in both personal and theological works, and Peter of Cluny cited the *Pharsalia* in his letters to Heloise for guidance in her official and personal problems, once quoting to her another part of the same tragic scene of Cornelia:

Vivit post funera Magnus,
Sed fortuna perit, quod defles, illud amasti. (*Phars.* viii. 84-85)

It is noteworthy that two of Peter's citations are given as *communis opinio*. The phrase was well used in the case of viii. 85 which John of Salisbury quoted in a warning against grief for the loss of temporal goods; *absit ut invidia antiquo suo vobis possit insultare proverbio dicens:*

quod defles, illud amasti.⁶

Estimates of Lucan's influence emphasize the mediaeval fondness for his brilliant rhetorical style and apt *sententiae*, which made him a suitable source of lines and phrases to adorn a work judged by artificial standards of rhetoric, and a good general model for form. In regard to substance, they emphasize especially his place as an historical authority for the Civil War which he describes, and as a source for descriptions of battles and the characteristics of heroes. They seek him as a model for the expression of republican sentiments as well. To a somewhat smaller extent his supernatural and scientific passages, which so often seem mere digression to us, filled an apparent need in spite of their lack of accuracy. The very display of learning that antagonizes some modern readers was an added attraction to the mediaeval mind. Perhaps because of the prevalent prejudice against rhetorical *sententiae*, which leads us to question the sincerity of thought cast in this form, modern criticism of Lucan's influence has been more concerned with his style and his historical value than with his moral and ethical judgments. The more carefully one studies the influence of Lucan on mediaeval writing, the more the impression grows that not only his brilliance in expression but also sympathy for the thoughts expressed determined his popularity.

Since the favorite individual lines of Lucan are chiefly his-

⁶ *Ep.* xcix, ed. Migne P. L. CXCIX, col. 90.

torical in application, these may serve as a fitting introduction to the general use of the poem by historians, to be followed by consideration of the citations of scientific material, the use of Lucan in ethical passages and by grammarians and rhetoricians, as well as the incorporation of his lines and phrases in the work of later poets.

The most popular single line was i. 281:

Tolle moras, semper nocuit differre paratis,

which might seem more likely to be popular with us than with the more leisurely men of the Middle Ages. Yet a mediaeval king who found himself in any situation requiring prompt action was bound to quote it or have it quoted to him. Matthew Paris made it Harold's excuse for seizing the crown; Ordericus Vitalis quoted it as the final argument that decided William Rufus to build a monastery. This king, however, did not quote the line himself, for as William of Malmesbury assures us, he was too illiterate for such elegance of speech, though his character and actions would have led inevitably to the conclusion that he was a reincarnation of Lucan's Caesar, *si Christianitas nostra pateretur*. Henry I, according to Ordericus, had progressed so far as to utter the line himself. Richard I used it to quell a mutiny of his soldiers in Sicily and to urge the king of France to make haste to join him. Charles IV of Germany quoted the line in his autobiography as a proverb exemplified by his ruinous delay in seeking winter-quarters. Cosmas of Prag inserted it in an address of Wladislas to his soldiers, and Ferdinand of Castile in a letter to Gregory IX. Albert von Stade, reckless of anachronism, had Priam quote this verse in his Lucan-saturated *Troilus*. Many lesser men adopted the kingly phrase. Richard of Dyon inserted it in Longchamp's speech accepting terms of surrender. Fulcher of Chartres and William of Tyre put it in the minds of Frankish nobles on the Crusades. Guillaume de Nangis cited it as an Ovidian line in his account of the siege of Messana in A. D. 1280, and Lambert of Ardres had it twice in the speeches of his counts. Benedict of Peterborough claimed that the common soldiery murmured these words when weary of marching without giving battle, but perhaps Raoul de Diceto knew his infantry better when he said of a group of men besieged at Fontaines in A. D. 1191: *Recolere*

poterant, si litteras nosset, illud a Lucano poeta metricè scriptum:

Dignum te Caesaris ira,
Nullus honor faciet.⁷

In the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* formerly ascribed to Gautier de Chatillon, the line illustrates the casting off of torpor by *magnanimitas*. In a letter of John of Salisbury it is coupled with a line of Ovid as a spur to action. In the *Visio Tnugdali* it points the value of prompt confession, and Elmer of Canterbury used it to urge his brother to monastic life. Even the leisurely Baudri de Bourgueil cited it twice, and Dante incorporated it into his *Inferno*. In the *Acta Sanctorum* we find it used to hasten the translation of the body of St. Agatha from Constantinople to Catana. A more worldly turn was given the phrase in the *Phagifacetus* of Reinerius, who advised quick action in offering one's lord the wine cup, for prompt service never did any harm—*numquam nocuit servire paratis*.

Almost equally popular with historians and moralists alike was Lucan's reflection on the sharing of royal power:

Nulla fides regni sociis, omnisque potestas
Impatiens consortis erit. (i. 92-93)

It was quoted five times by Matthew Paris, twice each by Rupert von Deutz, Thietmar and Theodoricus Monachus. Mediaeval kings offered many proofs of its essential truth, which historians and moralists duly noted. Peter of Cluny applied the line to the need of a single authority in a monastery, and Theodulph of Orleans used it as the title of a poem.

A phrase quoted with less reminiscence of its original intention than either of these is the famous *magni nominis umbra* of *Pharsalia* i. 135. As early as the fifth century this was a current expression, if we may judge by Claudian's epigram on a beaver coat that had, like Pompey, seen better days. Abelard used the phrase in its full context, applying it to Anselm of Lecon in whose shadow of a mighty name he could not bear to remain idling. Richard of Dyon represented a bishop as advised to be content with his bishopric, three castles and *magni nominis umbra*. Anselm of Liège, in the eleventh century, applied it to

⁷ *Imagines historiarum*, ed. Stubbs, *Rolls Series*, 116, quoting *Phars.* iii. 136-137.

a parish bereft of its pastor, while Matthew of Vendome had his *scolaris* marvel at those who consider only the shadow of a father's name and not the full weight of filial piety. Perhaps the finest application was that of Otto of Freising, who wrote of the *regnum Romanorum: extat alternationibus, maxime diebus nostris, ex nobilissimo factum est pene novissimum, ut iuxta poetam vix magni stat nominis umbra*.⁸

Many other lines are quoted in connection with historical characters, usually in the pregnant style of quotation that not only adorns a passage with an apt phrase, but enriches it by the reader's recollection of the original context. This is clear in the examples of *Pharsalia* i. 281 mentioned above, in which the object of the citation was in part the association of a contemporary king or general with the great Caesar. Thomas Walsingham represented the *vulgus* as applying to the downfall of the Percy family the mournful words of Pompey's son on his father's shameful death. In the *Memorials of Richard I* for the year 1190 the death of Pompey is recalled as the one worthy parallel for the grief felt at Frederick's loss: *Quod si veterum annales inquirimus, quid historiae tradant, quid fabulae confingant, de luctu matrum, nuptarum gemitu, quorumcumque planctus, dolor iste*

Exemploque carens, et nulli cognitus aevo,

cunctorum lacrymas et lamenta transcendit.⁹

Pius II in his *apologia* to the Gallic envoys in the Council at Mantua in A. D. 1459 quoted Lucan's famous lines:

Nulla fides pietasque viris qui castra sequuntur;
Venalesque manus, ibi fas, ubi maxima merces,

as the true attitude of his enemies, thus deriving added force for their confusion from the pagan poet's condemnation of Egyptian treachery.¹⁰ In like manner, the lines describing Caesar's ruthlessness:

⁸ *Chronica*, ed. Hofmeister (Hannover, 1912), *praefatio*, 7.

⁹ Thomas Walsingham, *Ypodigma Neustriae*, ed. Riley, *Rolls Series*, 424, citing *Phars.* ix. 136-139; and *Memorials of Richard I*, ed. Stubbs, *Rolls Series*, I, 56, citing ix. 169.

¹⁰ *Responsio Pii II Papae*, ed. d'Achery, *Spicilegium* III, 619, quoting x. 407-408.

Nullas nisi sanguine fuso
Gaudet habere vias,

often illustrated the character of a later emperor and were especially appropriate in connection with a march on Rome.¹¹

Ernaldus cited a line of Lucan (i. 372) to illustrate the submission of Bernard of Clairvaux to his abbot, and the famous descriptions of Cato's character were constantly in use to describe the more just and pious of historical characters. The most notable use of Lucan's Caesar is of course the *Alexandreis* of Gautier de Chatillon, in which not only are the metre, vocabulary and general thought clearly dependent on Lucan, as was fully recognized by Gautier's contemporaries, but by a neat chronological inversion Caesar is made to serve as a model for his great predecessor by the constant application of the descriptions of the Roman hero to the Macedonian. Among later emperors to whom Lucan's Caesar could properly serve as a model, the application of his characteristics to Frederick Barbarossa is particularly notable, as in Gunther's *Ligurinus*. Gunther's Frederick, however, derives as much from Cato as from Caesar. The frequent applications of verses from Lucan in Otto of Freising's narrative illustrate further the importance of the epic in Frederick's circle, and Godfrey of Viterbo had Lucan constantly in mind in his *Gesta Friderici*. Caesar as the conqueror and Cato as the model of rigid justice are the essential figures in the mediaeval gallery of historical portraits. One of the many cases in which an historical character is described in terms of Lucan's Cato is found in a Bohemian history in which the temperance of the 13th-century king Rudolphus is praised by means of *Pharsalia* ii. 384-387.¹² These lines are among those most commonly cited by ethical writers, and therefore were particularly appropriate for emphasizing the virtues of an individual in an historical account.

¹¹ *Phars.* ii. 439-440. A good example is Suger, *Vie de Louis le Gros*, ed. Waquet, p. 60, describing the emperor's journey to Rome in 1110, where the line is used to show the really destructive purpose of an apparently peaceful journey. Compare the use of vi. 284 in the description of Lothaire, *Annales Colonienses Maximi*, M. G. H. SS. XVII, 754.

¹² Johannes Victoriensis, ed. Böhmer, *Fontes Rerum Germanicarum* ii. 10, p. 329.

The *Pharsalia* furnished a surprising number of *testimonia* for local histories, because of the author's obvious love for tribal names, and for descriptions of rivers. When an historian has a single quotation from Lucan connected with the early history of his locality or with its geography, it is probable that the passage was preserved in the monastery archives as a *testimonium antiquitatis*, and its use does not imply actual reference to the *Pharsalia*. The estimation in which Lucan's authority was held in this connection may be illustrated by the false reading of *Saxones* for *Suessiones* in i. 423, which served Widukind of Corvey as a basis for his boast of the ancient nobility of the Saxons. Folcvin of Laubach applied Lucan's description of the Isère to the Oise by a similar confusion, whether conscious or not. The number of local historians in France and Germany who found their tribes and rivers mentioned in Lucan is quite amazing. The case of Italy is less surprising, and the descriptions of Caesar's activities there afforded many opportunities to historians of a later date.

As an instance of a heightening of a battle scene by a reminiscence of Lucan we may take a passage from Aelred of Rievaulx: *Sequitur lituum stridor, tubarum crepitus, fragor lancearum percutientium alteram aâ alteram; tremit terra, fremit caelum, echo vicini montes collesque resultant*.¹³ On the other hand, recollection of the first lines of the epic seems to have lured the author of the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* away from the fight into a rhetorical exercise:

Interea concrepantium invicem trompis, et alternos commiscentibus convenienter accentus, fit quaedam tonorum *discors concordia*, dum congrua sonorum productiore identitate, singulae singularum quodam modo repeterent exceptiones mutuas, et vocum restaurarent depressiones.¹⁴

Lucan's *sententiae* on the evils of civil war were frequently applied to the constant factional strife in the cities of Italy. Similar cases are naturally found in vernacular histories in the Middle Ages and later. The English historians of the twelfth century and the Italian chroniclers lead the list of Latin writers

¹³ *Relatio de Standardo*, ed. Howlett, *Rolls Series*, 195; cf. *Phars.* i. 237, *stridor lituum clangor-que tubarum*.

¹⁴ *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* ii. 13, ed. Stubbs, *Rolls Series*, 157. Cf. *Phars.* i. 98.

who depended on Lucan's characterization of civil war, but French and German chronicles and annals, saints' lives, and such individual historians as Guillaume de Nangis, Lambert of Hersfeld, Otto of Freising, Thietmar of Merseburg, Theoderich of St. Trond, make similar use of the *Pharsalia*. There is much historical appropriateness in the use of the words:

Omnisque potestas
Impatiens consortis erit, (Phars. i. 92-93)

in connection with the Guelph and Ghibelline factions. The works of John of Salisbury, especially the *Policraticus*, show significant combinations of political and ethical applications of Lucan's words, and Otto of Freising made the most suggestive general applications of Lucan to his own philosophy of history. Even the work of fortification, if we may trust the statement of Thietmar, was carried on with due consultation of Lucan's circumvallation of Dyrrachium.

Geographical and scientific writers made similar use of the *Pharsalia*. The Italian Guido of Pisa began his *Geographica* with a new application of *Pharsalia* ii. 383:

Nec sibi sed toti genitum se credere mundo,

surely an appropriate motto for his work. Lucan's tender interest in rivers has been often noted, and found such sympathetic echoes in the Middle Ages that it was natural to quote and imitate his descriptions of European streams. Even such a connoisseur of rivers as Ausonius cited Lucan often, and mediæval historians were equally fond of the geographical and pseudo-scientific *excursus*. The German historians especially enjoyed Lucan's rivers.

The tenth-century chronicler of Salerno cited *Pharsalia* i. 136 as evidence of the derivation of tribal names from local rivers, in this case deriving *Alermanni* from *Lemannus*. Rhaban Maur in his encyclopedic work *De Universo* quoted Lucan as an authority on rivers, birds, snakes and magic. Scattering quotations on these subjects may have been derived from the frequent use of Lucan by Isidore and Macrobius. Servius also contributed to the currency of Lucan's ideas on magic. Among the later encyclopedists who made considerable use of Lucan are Alexander Neckam and Vincent of Beauvais. The second

book of the *Pharsalia* was particularly rich in lines quoted for their bearing on geography and natural science, but most popular of all was the description in ix. 700-733 of the snakes of Africa, which became the *locus classicus* for serpents of any nationality, aided, no doubt, by Isidore's lavish quotations. Solinus was often quoted in connection with this description of the snakes, as in Theoderich of St. Trond's versification of Solinus. Roger Bacon quoted x. 147 in connection with Caesar's reform of the calendar. Scientific compilations in general quoted Lucan's authority often enough to justify contemporary historians in resting content with his conclusions on geography, meteorology, zoology and the like, however unsatisfactory they may seem to us. Abundant quotations from the *Pharsalia* in the *Mythographi Vaticani* testify to his standing in another field clearly linked with mediaeval science.

Among the many passages quoted for their ethical value, none was more influential than the estimate of Cato's character in ii. 377-391. Marginal scorings in many manuscripts testify to its popularity with students and general readers. It served equally as the general pattern of a virtuous life or to describe an individual, and appears frequently in the *florilegia*. The most popular lines are 388-390, very freely used in Christian epitaphs:

Urbi pater est, ubique maritus,
Iustitiae custos, rigidi servator honesti,
In commune bonus.

The popularity of this description of Cato doubtless contributed to the frequency with which later leaders were compared to him.

The apostrophe of poverty in v. 527-529 also made a wide appeal to moralists, and was perhaps less likely to be challenged in an age when the "secure poverty" of clerical or monastic life furnished a majority of readers, than in our present insecurity:

O vitae tuta facultas
Pauperis angustique lares! O munera nondum
Intellecta deum!

Giraldus Cambrensis quoted these verses three times, once, significantly, of the decline of the Cistercians from their original poverty. Petrus Cantor, who was fond of citing Lucan's attacks on *luxuria*, and making parallels between Roman and church

history by means of quotations from the *Pharsalia*, especially commended these lines.

The rôle of *pauper Amyclas* in Caesar's drama was not overlooked and his name was adopted from Lucan's epic as conventional for a poor man, and as a convenient pendant to Croesus. Among others, Alexander Neckam recalled Lucan's context when he described as a second Amyclas a sailor reputed to have crossed the English Channel with only a dog to help him. The *Metamorphosis Goliae* substituted Amyclas for Robert Pullen's surname, and Jean d'Hauteville's satire on university life, the *Architrenius*, used the name no less than four times, once in connection with lines 527-529.¹⁵ The diatribe against *luxuria* in iv. 373-381 was a particular favorite with the moralists. The Paris manuscript 5265 has a note which may in part explain its fame: *Hic invehitur in eos qui propter divitias faciunt bella. Hos versus studiosus lege.* Alberic of Monte Cassino cited the passage in his *Flores Rhetorici* as an example of *ethopoeia*. Bernard of Clairvaux in his *Vitis Mystica* called on Christians to blush that a heathen poet could express the ideals of Christian poverty better than they.

Line 819 of the seventh book:

Caelo tegitur qui non habet urnam,

also proved particularly useful to Christian moralists, and to the makers of ethical *florilegia*. Eugenius of Toledo quoted the verse on the non-burial of martyrs, and Remigius of Auxerre made it the basis of a query why the patriarchs were so anxious to provide proper burial for Christian bodies. It was effectively used with Vergil's *facilis iactura sepulchri* in Hildebert's *Moralis Philosophia*, in the confident answer of *Securitas* to the threat of *Timor*: *Insepultus iacebis.*

John of Salisbury quoted Lucan freely in his *Policraticus* and *Metalogicon*. In the *Historia Pontificalis*, where classical quotations are rare, Vergil, Horace and Lucan being quoted only once each, line 535 of Book viii,

Nulla fides umquam miseros elegit amicos,

¹⁵ See R. L. Poole, "Masters of the Schools at Paris and Chartres," *Eng. Hist. Rev.* XXXV (1920), 341: "It is evident, therefore, that in the twelfth century when Lucan was a regular schoolbook, the term *pauper Amyclas* had come to be used as a synonym for a poor man."

is given as a *proverbium*. In the *Policraticus* John quoted this line twice, once with the ordinary application to the fickleness of human affection, and again in connection with his ingenious proposal of a means to end civil war and schism without violence except to the leaders who had caused it. In 1166, the fourth year of his exile, John had sad occasion to apply the verse to his own needs, quoting it together with Phctinus' hardhearted and practical precepts in an appeal to the Abbot of St. Edmund's.

John spoke of Vergil and Lucan together as the logical sources for Latin *exempla*, as Homer is for Greek, though "domestic *exempla* have more force." The wars of church and state, and affairs of court and church life, gave abundant occasion for ethical quotation from the *Pharsalia*, and Lucan's astronomical passages and his interpretations of omens also won admiration. There is considerable correspondence between John's citations and those of Hildebert of Lavardin, and of the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum*, but this seems to be chiefly due to similarity of taste and purpose. John's frequent citation of Lucan's attacks on civil war, applied to the schisms of his own day, are of especial interest.

Among the many other twelfth- and thirteenth-century writers who valued the ethical applications of Lucan's work, Alain de Lille, in the *Anticlaudianus* and the *De Planctu Naturae*, frequently inserted phrases from Lucan in passages of similar context in his own work, showing clearly his dependence on his model both for thought and for expression. An excellent example is the speech of *Concordia* in *Anticlaudianus* ii. 5, with its allusions to the civil war, the greed of Crassus and the aims of Caesar. Sometimes bits from Ovid, Juvenal or other classical writers are found interspersed with those from Lucan, giving almost the effect of a cento.

John Garland also gave abundant proof of his earnest study of Lucan, and seems to quote the *Pharsalia* especially for its ethical value. Like Alain he tends to incorporate phrases and half-lines into his verse rather than quote *in extenso*. His direct use of Lucan in the *Morale Scolarium* is slight, but in the unpublished *Epithalamium* phrases from the *Pharsalia* are frequent, though less common than those from Vergil and Ovid, who offer more material directly related to his theme. In the *Clavis Compendii* he also used illustrations *teste Lucano* fairly

often. A careful study of his unpublished works would probably increase our conception of the extent to which the *Pharsalia* was memorized and utilized by this prolific schoolmaster, and it may not be amiss to suggest that Latin verses written by his pupils may have been rated in proportion to the number of classical phrases incorporated in them from the works of his great models.¹⁶

Petrus Cantor used Lucan in his *Verbum Abbreviatum* to illustrate Christian poverty, and also to attack simony and luxury of all sorts. He even found support for the mediaeval prohibition of usury in Lucan's *hinc, usura vorax* (i. 181).

Giraldus Cambrensis knew Lucan well, and quoted him with much interest in historical and ethical connections. He was particularly fond of i. 70-71,

Summisque negatum / Stare diu,

and of ii. 657,

Nil credens actum dum quid superesset agendum,

which he seems almost to have adopted as a personal motto, applying it to his own actions in his autobiography. His Welsh birth gave him a special interest in i. 449 for its mention of the *Bardi*, but he condemns Welsh lavishness in offering potations with the words,

Facinus quos inquinat aequat. (v. 290)

He did not hesitate to couple his quotations from Lucan with biblical texts. The changes and chances of his own life may have led to his fondness for i. 510-511:

O faciles dare summa deos, eademque tueri
Difficiles!

There is curious contrast between the neglect of Lucan and Vergil in the lives of the poets in the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais and the abundant quotations from them in the great thirteenth-century encyclopedia. Vincent's citations

¹⁶ I have used the *Clavis Compendii* in MS Gonville and Caius 136 (Cambridge, s. xiii) and the *Epithalamium* in an unpublished text kindly loaned to me by Dr. E. Faye Wilson, who is preparing the critical edition of the work.

are chiefly the more familiar lines with ready ethical application. Several are used more than once, especially, in the *Doctrinale*, passages on death such as vii. 818-819. The *Speculum Naturale* of course quoted the snake passage in Book ix, as well as ethical lines.

Rupert von Deutz frequently used *exempla* from Roman history with quotations from Lucan as parallels to incidents in the Old and New Testament. Two lines that I have not found quoted elsewhere except in John of Salisbury are used with reference to study in the schools:

Ex abundantia est astruere processionem honoris ascensum recte dici,
cum in scholis quoque pueri lectitent, ducem nobilem dicentem militibus
suis:

Quo potuit civem populus perducere liber,
Ascendi, supraque nihil nisi regna reliqui.¹⁷

He used the *Pharsalia* freely in illustrations of Christian ethics and of scriptural passages dealing with geography and natural history.

While Horace, Juvenal and Persius naturally represented Latin satire in mediaeval classifications of Roman literature, quotations from Lucan were also freely used by mediaeval satirists. In satirical poems included in Wright's collections, hexameter lines from Lucan, as from Vergil, Ovid, Horace and Juvenal, are used as the fourth verse of a stanza in the Goliardic metre. This device, common in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, enabled the author to use full line quotations almost as readily as prose writers could, instead of merely suggesting the original by paraphrase in the metre of his verse.

It has already been suggested that Lucan's *sententiae* were considered suitable for a strictly Christian context. Augustine set a notable example, introducing his quotations now by Lucan's name, and now by the deprecatory *quidam poeta*. Prudentius is particularly rich in phrases from Lucan, especially in his descriptions of the passions of saints. It is not surprising, therefore, to find citations from Lucan in the *Acta Sanctorum*. Helinand's sermons apply Lucan's descriptions of Caesar and of the serpents to the devil, as well as citing him to illustrate

¹⁷ *De Victoria Verbi Dei* ed. Migne, P. L. CLXIX, col. 1226, quoting *Phars.* ii. 562-563.

Christian virtues. But God could also be invoked in the words of the *Pharsalia*, as we see in a ninth-century poem.¹⁸ On the other hand, Theodulph used Lucan's description of the violent act from which Rome sprang to typify the worldly conflict that the holy city deserts for heaven.¹⁹

The eleventh-century biography and translation of Clemens of Metz used Lucan freely in descriptions of the saint and his miracles; usually the author inserted in his prose narrative recognizable phrases from Lucan, and then expanded the same idea in hexameters clearly dependent on him, but without mention of the poet or indication of a quotation. Vergil, Prudentius and others are similarly used. In one striking instance Lucan's description (i. 469-472) of an empty rumor that caused many false prophecies is adapted with reversed meaning, emphasizing to those who recognized Lucan's words, the contrast between pagan falsehood and the true *virtutes* of Clemens, a clear case of that spoiling of the Egyptians advocated by the Fathers.

Peter of Cluny offered *Pharsalia* v. 23-29,

Veiosque habitante Camillo
Ilic Roma fuit,

as authority for the transfer of the leadership of the Church to the Papal residence. Again, the contrast between the small number of the apostles and the importance of their work was illustrated in the *Dialogus de Pontificatu* by v. 340-343, ending

Humanum paucis vivit genus.

Naturally Christian battles, as in the twelfth-century *Messias* of Eupolemius, drew heavily on both Lucan and Vergil for their details. In such cases, a good classical education might well supply the lack of personal experience of war on the part of a monkish poet. Biblical commentaries, such as that of Thomas of Cîteaux on the *Song of Songs*, or of Hilarius on *Genesis*, drew freely on Lucan and Vergil for *exempla*.

¹⁸ *Hibernicus Exul*, *Carm.* i. 1-3, *M. G. H. Poetae Latini Aevi Karolini* I, 395:

O deus omnipotens, convexae conditor arcis,
Terrarum et maris et quae tantus continet orbis. . .

Cf. *Phars.* i. 110.

¹⁹ *Carm.* vii. 51-52, *ibid.* 462, adapting *Phars.* i. 95.

A note of apology for this free application of the words of a pagan poet may be seen in the letter of Hugh of Lucca to the monks of Canterbury, then under threat of excommunication: *at illud ethnicum hac tempestate locum potest propheticum obtinere,*

- Quis furor, o cives, quae est tanta licentia ferri? ²⁰

In view of this free use of the *Pharsalia* in theological works, it is not surprising that quotations from Lucan, whether direct borrowings or conventional phrases used without consciousness of their origin, are next in popularity in Christian inscriptions to those from Vergil and Ovid.²¹

Such a close association of the words of a pagan poet with the lives and doctrines of Christians was sure to rouse occasional protest. Rather of Verona lamented the preference of his contemporaries for *Bella per Emathios* as compared with the decrees of the Church councils, and for *jus datum sceleris* as against the rules of Christian life. But on at least one occasion he himself used a half-line of Lucan to describe a Hebrew conflict. Otloh of St. Emmeram objected to Boethius' fondness for Lucan as unsuited to a Christian philosopher, and ascribed his own conversion to monasticism to a visitation of illness during his ardent study of Lucan. Peter of Blois took a logical middle course, quoting freely from Lucan in his letters, but properly censuring Radulphus for making gods of Priscian and Tully, Lucan and Persius. Such a case illustrates still more clearly the enthusiasm with which Lucan was studied at the time.

Writers on grammar, rhetoric and prosody used Lucan far too freely to admit of brief analysis. Priscian's citations alone would go far to restore the *Pharsalia* if it were preserved to us in no other way, and there are few grammarians in whose work Lucan is not quoted. Naturally lines containing strange names or unusual forms predominate, and consequently the geographical passages are much cited. The grammarians in general had a happy habit of quoting at greater length than the case

²⁰ Cited in *Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, II, 39, ed. Stubbs, *Rolls Series*, quoting *Phars.* i. 8.

²¹ Cf. Hosius, "*Römische Dichter auf Inschriften*," *Rh. Mus.* L (1895), 286-300.

required, as if they wished to keep the full flavor of a passage actually cited to illustrate a single word. Many of Servius' quotations from Lucan were intended as illustrations of points of syntax and prosody. The quotations from Lucan in the glossaries have been proved to be derived from commentaries on Vergil.²² The twelfth- and thirteenth-century grammarians, including Eberhard of Bethune, continued to make full use of the *Pharsalia*. The study of the epic in the schools made its citation in grammars and prosodic works doubly useful. The fact that many lines of Lucan quoted by mediaeval authors do not appear in the grammars forestalls any idea that the latter were largely responsible for the individual citations, but like the compilers of the *florilegia* the grammarians probably had something to do with establishing Lucan as a desirable author from whom to quote.

The use of the *Pharsalia* in vocabularies and dictionaries may be illustrated by Conrad of Mure's *Repertorium* and Alain de Lille's *Distinctio Dictionum Theologicarum*. The illustrations of *comparatio* drawn from Lucan in rhetorical treatises, as those of Grillius and Alberic of Monte Cassino, cast light on the frequent marginal notation, *Comparatio*, in the manuscripts.

Roger Bacon, who named Lucan as a leading authority for Latin grammar, actually cited him chiefly for prosody, and the *Dictamina* regularly took the *Pharsalia* as a metrical model, as Eberhard recommended. Hence came the use of *Bella per Emathios* as the stock example of *carmen heroicum*. Naturally therefore the mediaeval poet who contemplated an epic of war looked to Lucan for inspiration. William the Breton called on the spirit of Lucan, Vergil or Statius to help him write of Philip's deeds. William of Tyre called Lucan *belli civilis egregius prosator*, the model for civil war. Rolandinus of Padua sighed for Lucan or Vergil to help him clothe his history with worthy metre instead of his bare prose. Albert von Stade's *Troilus*, Godfrey of Viterbo's *Gesta Friderici*, Gunther's *Ligurius*, Joseph of Exeter's *Bellum Troianum*, and most of all, Gautier's *Alexander*, depended on Lucan not only for the pattern of warlike deeds and heroes, but for tricks of phrase and

²² See J. F. Moulford, *Quotations from Classical Authors in Mediaeval Latin Glossaries*, Cornell Studies in Cl. Phil. XXI (1928).

metre in endless variety. While the prose writer was free to introduce a quotation where he wished, the poet had to fit the quoted word or phrase into the current of his verse as successfully as might be. This was easiest with groups of two or more words, which often recalled the original quite as clearly as a full line.* Many poets from early Christian days to the end of the Middle Ages illustrate this tendency. Occasionally, as was the case with Albert von Stade, the poet found it possible to incorporate whole lines from his model in his own verse, if he were writing hexameters. The striking use of a classical hexameter at the end of a Goliardic quatrain in the satirical poems has already been mentioned. The bits of original verse often embedded in prose histories make similar use of phrases from Lucan and other classical authors, as may be seen in Vincent's *Chronica Polonorum*, and the *Monumenta Epternacensia*, or in the work of Ferreto of Vicenza and others. Parallel with this is the inclusion of metrical phrases or recognizable paraphrases in a paragraph of prose, without any indication of quotation, as in the *Vita* of Clemens of Metz and the *Vita S. Willibrordi* of Thiofrid.

Space will not permit analysis of the numerous citations from Lucan in the prosodic and ethical *florilegia*. These follow the general lines already discussed, although, aside from the most popular lines, the citations in the *florilegia* correspond better with those marked in the manuscripts than with those quoted by individual authors. Quotations from Lucan in the *florilegia* bear out the general impression that an important function of these collections of verse was to provide metrical phrases and poetic vocabulary for the contemporary poet, or the school-boy set the task of verse composition.

As long as the *Pharsalia* continued to be widely studied it was freely quoted, in Latin and vernacular works, especially in connection with civil war and its problems. Even today, when a Latin quotation is no longer the essential ornament of English style, one hears echoes of *magni nominis umbra*, of *victrix causa deis placuit*, and in these latter days, of *nescit plebes ieiuna timere*.

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THE PERFECT PRINCE ACCORDING TO THE LATIN PANEGYRISTS.

From the fifth century B. C. to the present day we have an unbroken line of essays, the so-called *specula principum*, addressed to kings, princes and emperors, indulging them in a certain amount of praise, but setting forth in theoretical fashion the ideal of princship, good government, the best form of state, the duties and responsibilities of prince and subject alike, the essential uses of education and practice.¹ Somewhat akin to this *genre* is another, the panegyric or encomium, addressed not only to rulers but also to prominent citizens. While these panegyrics may in their essential parts be reduced to a type,² they nevertheless vary in their specific forms from the earliest spoken *laudatio*, and its cognate the later literary *laudatio funebris*, to encomiastic biography, as exemplified by the *Evagoras* in Greek and the *Agricola* in Latin. With neither of these extremes are we concerned here.

There are known many panegyrics in Latin, a considerable number of which are extant, addressed to princes or emperors, usually upon some definite occasion of state, or of good fortune to the panegyrist, eulogizing the qualities of the ruler. These panegyrics may or may not contain a section on "the perfect prince", "the ideal government", etc., but most of the longer and better ones do.³ Whether or not such a definitely labelled passage is present, there is usually much by implication even after the obvious adulation is skimmed off; and often we come

¹ This material I have discussed in several places: "The Perfect Prince: A Study in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Ideals", *Speculum*, III (1928), pp. 470-504; "Erasmus on Political Ethics . . .", *Political Science Quarterly*, XLIII (1928), pp. 520-543, with long bibliography; "The *Specula Principis* of the Carolingian Renaissance", *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, XII (1933), pp. 583-612. The material from antiquity and from the later middle ages is discussed in my book, *Erasmus on the Education of a Christian Prince*, which I hope to have ready soon, chapters III and IV.

² J. Mesk, "Zur Technik der lateinischen Panegyriker", *Rhein. Mus. f. Phil.* LXVII (1912), pp. 569-590, has analysed these in detail and discussed them according to the ancient rhetorical rules for the *genre*.

³ Most of the material comes after the reign of Diocletian, quite naturally, as we point out later.

upon a sound piece of political theory under the guise of a divine revelation to the ruler-elect, the coronation address expressing the mutual need of prince and people, the duties and responsibilities of the senate, the relation of the civil and military authorities.⁴ In this paper we have examined some of the Latin panegyrics, studying separately those in prose and verse, for such passages; we are not interested in the *genre per se*.

I

There has come down to us in the manuscripts a collection, now numbering twelve pieces, known as the *Panegyrici Latini*, consisting of eulogies addressed to several of the Roman emperors. By far the most famous, as well as the earliest and longest, is that spoken by the younger Pliny in 100 A. D. to the emperor Trajan in appreciation of the consulship which the emperor had just conferred upon him.⁵ Especially noteworthy also are those of Claudius Mamertinus, also in return for the consulship, to Julian in 362, and of Latinus Pacatus Drepanius to Theodosius in 389. Of the remaining nine essays, two are addressed to Maximianus (289, 291), one to Constantius (297), one delivered in Autun on the restoration of the schools there (297), one to Maximianus and Constantine (307), and four to Constantine (310, 311, 313, 321). Pliny's oration excepted, the material coincides almost precisely with the boundaries of the fourth century. As we might expect, and as even a casual examination of the texts will show, the material on the perfect prince is scanty, for, with Pliny's work again excepted, the essays contain no sections of abstract theory.

Pliny tells us that the prince should not be the lord (*dominus*)

⁴ The younger Pliny tells us (*Ep.* III. 18. 2-3) that he put his panegyric to Trajan into permanent form for two reasons; "first, that the good qualities of the present emperor may be commended by true praise; and secondly, that future princes may learn through precedent, rather than through [the teachings of] a master, the easiest route to the same glory. It is indeed splendid [he continues,] to prescribe the qualities of a true prince, but it is difficult and presumptive; but to praise the best of princes, and by this means to furnish later princes with a beacon light, as it were, by which they may be guided, is just as efficacious, but in no way boastful".

⁵ Some years later Fronto composed several panegyrics to Hadrian, and one or more to other prominent men. These have not survived

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but the father (*pater*) of his people,⁶ mild and gentle by nature, merciful, self-controlled, free from lusts and greed,⁷ liberal and generous,⁸ surpassing all in strength, dignity, appearance, virtue and ability,⁹ brave,¹⁰ magnanimous and moderate,¹¹ truthful, not susceptible to flattery,¹² rejoicing in the general welfare of his people,¹³ so that everyone will be happy in his kindness.¹⁴ The best protection of the prince is the love and respect of his subjects.¹⁵ He should reform the youth,¹⁶ correct evil practices,¹⁷ establish just legal procedure,¹⁸ be himself subject to the law,¹⁹ possess good friends and good advisers.²⁰ He should travel so as to understand various peoples, places and conditions.²¹

We are ruled indeed by you, and subject to you, but in the same manner as we are subject to the laws. They check our desires and passions, but nevertheless are with us and of us. You surpass us, you excel us, as honor, or power, which are over man, but nevertheless are of man too. Before your accession, princes through a certain scorn for us and a fear of equality, as it were, lost the use of their feet. They were carried above us on the shoulders and backs of slaves; you are raised above those very princes through glory, devotion to your people, and freedom. . . .²²

A dominion (*dominatio*) and a principate (*principatus*) are very different.²³ Everyone gladly follows the good prince and imitates him.²⁴ His example is needed.²⁵

. . . You know in what the true and lasting glory of a prince is placed. These are the honors against which no flames, no breakdown of old age, no successor may avail. Arches and statues and even temples are demolished in oblivion, neglected and attacked by posterity. But the spirit that scorns, conquers and checks ambition and unlimited power flourishes by its very antiquity. It is praised by none more than those who are least obliged to. Besides, as each prince is created, straightway his reputation—good or bad as the case may be—is made lasting. The enduring fame which awaits a prince against his will is not to be sought after, but only the *good* fame. That latter is not passed on through images and statues, but through virtue and deeds of merit. Nay, even the less important matters of the prince's form and figure may not

⁶ 2.¹¹ 58.¹⁶ 47.²¹ 15.⁷ 2-3, 27.¹² 41.¹⁷ 53.²² 24.⁸ 28-31, 37, 50.¹³ 44.¹⁸ 36.²³ 45.⁹ 4, 67, 82.¹⁴ 22.¹⁹ 65.²⁴ 45-48.¹⁰ 13.¹⁵ 49.²⁰ 44, 88.²⁵ 45.

be better expressed and preserved in gold or silver than in the favor of mankind.²⁶

The others²⁷ tell us that the greatest good a prince can do is to furnish a *novum fatum* to his people;²⁸ his surest bodyguard is the love of his people.²⁹ "It is the part of a good ruler to move with deliberation in planning for the correction of difficulties, to fail not when fortune calls in favorable times."³⁰ He must be noble, wise, brave, dignified, kind, merciful, just, devoted to his people, chaste in his private life, moderate, generous, truthful, prudent, self-restrained, modest.³¹ The prince should be a good soldier;³² show mercy to the enemy;³³ he should provide for his people in peace;³⁴ reward the deserving and help the needy;³⁵ correct public morals, and check the royal expenditures.³⁶ He should be a leader in mind and example,³⁷ who is himself hardworking and good.³⁸ "It is the part of a good prince to see that his people are happy, but of a better one, to see them at work."³⁹ To foster education and help in the establishment of schools is one of the greatest boons that a prince can grant.⁴⁰ "Indeed, the essence of efficiency in a prince is to fail not in council even though he fail in strength; he should be readier to act than to advise, for he controls by his warning, helps by his efforts, fires by his examples."⁴¹

Two other panegyrists of the fourth century whose works are extant in whole or part, but not included in the above collection are well-known figures. Ausonius, the famous poet, friend and countryman of Drepanius, and tutor to Gratian by whom he was made consul in 379, delivered his speech of thanks at Trier

²⁶ 55.

²⁷ The remaining writers of this collection are cited by the Roman numeral prefixed to their essays in the edition of Baehrens, *XII Panegyrici Latini*, Leipzig 1911.

²⁸ II. 27.

²⁹ III. 24.

³⁰ XII. 15.

³¹ II. 6, 16, 20, 24, 31, 40; III. 24, 26; IV. 16, 33; V. 2; VI. 6, 10, 19, 20; VIII. 3-5; XII. 4.

³² II. 8-11; II. 24.

³³ VI. 10.

³⁴ III. 12.

³⁵ V. 2.

³⁶ II. 13-14; cf. II. 5.

³⁷ IV. 29.

³⁸ III. 12-14.

³⁹ V. 7.

⁴⁰ IX. 19.

⁴¹ IV. 29.

on that occasion. The second is the last of the great adherents to the pagan religion, Q. Aurelius Symmachus, who after a prominent career attained the consulship in 391. He has left us three panegyrics (extant only in fragmentary form), two of which are addressed to Valentinian I in 369 and 370, and the third to his young son, Gratian, in 369. A few years later a pupil of Ausonius, himself distinguished in affairs civil and ecclesiastical, Paulinus, bishop of Nola, wrote "before his elevation to the bishopric a prose panegyric [now lost] to Theodosius on his victory over the tyrants, especially because he had conquered with faith and prayer rather than with arms".⁴² Early in the next century comes the prose panegyric of Merobaudes (of which only small fragments remain) on the second consulship of Aetius in 437. In the year 507 Ennodius, Bishop of Pavia, composed a high-sounding, fulsome panegyric on Theodosius. The list of works discussed here fittingly closes with the name of Cassiodorus Senator to whom is attributed a panegyric, of which only 41 lines remain, addressed to King Theodahad about 534-536.

The material from all of these last-mentioned writers is so scanty that it can readily be grouped together. The prince should be generous, brave, merciful, statesmanlike, strict, in his attention to duty, fostering peace and harmony under his rule, kind, affectionate, indulgent where possible, moderate in food and drink, chaste, vigorous, considerate, just, wise in speech, rewarding the good, interested in the sick and needy.⁴³ The good ruler expects no return in kind for his benefices;⁴⁴ let him be approved by his acts;⁴⁵ let him share his plenty with the many.⁴⁶ Nothing can be enjoyed as "good" if secured through cruelty.⁴⁷ The good prince is the "vicar of God",⁴⁸ to whom he

⁴² Gennadius, *Viri Ill.* 28.

⁴³ Auson. 1, 2, 6, 8, 9, 14, 15, 16, 17. Cf. Symmachus, *Laud. Val. Prior* 11, 15; *id.*, *Laud. Grat.* 7, 9; *id.*, *Laud. Val. Altera* 32; Merobaudes, *Paneg.* I, frag. 1A, 9-15; *Cassiod.*, 8-9, 15-25; 34-35; Ennod. (ed. Hartel, Leip. 1882), p. 274. 20, p. 277. 4-5.

⁴⁴ Auson. 17.

⁴⁵ Sym., *Laud. Grat.* 4.

⁴⁶ Ennod. p. 277. 5.

⁴⁷ Ennod. p. 284. 20-21.

⁴⁸ Auson. 5: "Deus es qui deo proximus tacito munera dispertit arbitrio et beneficiorum suorum indignatus per homines stare iudicium.

refers his plans.⁴⁹ The remark of Titus, "That day is lost on which no good deed was done,"⁵⁰ has much to commend it. The busy efforts of the ruler guaranty the peaceful leisure of the people.⁵¹ "In you there is missing neither the security of the brave man nor the caution of the worried. O double fullness of goodness in one prince, which must be referred to God himself since there is no one among men from whom he could seem to have gained it."⁵² The qualities of leader in civil as well as military affairs are essential.⁵³

II

Among the panegyrists who used verse as their medium Claudius Claudianus (ca. 370-ca. 408) is by far the most interesting and most important. While this Alexandrian who enjoyed so much imperial favor is not the first Latin panegyrist to write in verse, being preceded by at least the *Panegyricus Messallae* long attributed to Tibullus, the *Laus Pisonis* addressed in all probability to Calpurnius Piso, the well-known figure of the period, the lost *Laudes Neronis* of Lucan (39-65) delivered at the quinquennial festival of the Neronia in 60 A. D. when its author was just 21 years of age, and the panegyric of Statius to Domitian on his seventeenth consulship,⁵⁴ he is the first to have written extensively in this *genre* and to have included a good bulk of material germane to our study.⁵⁵ The most important source is his *Panegyricus de IV Consulatu Honorii*, but almost of equal importance are those on the third and sixth consulship of the same emperor, and his *Panegyricus Dictus Manlio Theodoro Consuli*.⁵⁶

... Ausonius was professedly a Christian; cf. the remark of Symmachus, the avowed pagan: "Similis est princeps deo pariter universa cernenti, qui cunctas partes novit imperii" (*Laud. Val. Prior* 1).

⁴⁹ Auson. 9.

⁵⁰ Auson. 16 = Suet., *Titus* 8.

⁵¹ Ennod. p. 277. 10.

⁵² Ennod. p. 277. 12-13.

⁵³ Sym., *Laud. Val. Prior* 19; *id.*, *Laud. Val. Altera* 2-4; cf. Ennod. p. 282. 21-22.

⁵⁴ *Silvae* IV. 1.

⁵⁵ The study of A. Parravicini, *I panegirici di Claudiano e i panegirici latini*, Rome 1909, I have not been able to examine.

⁵⁶ Important material is also found in the *Panegyricus Dictus Probino*

In more than one place Claudian has painted a detailed picture of the perfect prince. In the panegyric to Manlius Theodorus (399) who, as we learn from the opening lines of the poem itself, had had a brilliant career, the consul is visited by Justice who tells plainly how selfish it is for a well-trained virtuous, philosophic, efficient man to seclude himself; he is the type that public office needs.⁵⁷ And to his patron saint Stilicho there is addressed one passage in particular which should be noted in detail.

Moreover, all the virtues whose pure aspect puts all wickedness to flight live conjoined in thee and, dwelling within thy heart, aid thee in the manifold businesses of life. Justice teaches thee to prefer the right to the useful, to obey the general laws of mankind and never to enrich thy friends at others' cost. Patience strengthens thy body so that it seeks never to yield to toil. Temperance guides thee to chaste desires. Prudence will have thee do naught without forethought, Constancy naught without decision and firm purpose. The deadly vices which Tartarus sends up from his monstrous abyss fly far from thee; but first and foremost thou banishest Avarice, mother of crimes, greedy for more the more she possesses, searching ever open-mouthed for gold; with her thou drivest out her most foul nurse, Ambition, who watches at the gate of the powerful and haunts their dwelling-places, cherishing the sale of honours for gold. This age's more turbid stream of corruption has not drawn thee to follow its examples—corruption which had with lapse of time established crime and turned the custom of rapine into a law. Beneath thy rule the rich tremble not for the safety of ancestral lands or houses; no informer stalks the world set on making no matter whom his victim. Virtue suffers no eclipse by poverty. Thou exaltest men of all countries, asking what are their merits not their place of birth, what their character not their origin. A generous prince takes note of our life; rewards allure into the ways of virtue. Hence it comes that the arts of old flourish once more; the path to fortune is open to genius, while poesy again raises her despised head. Rich and poor strive with equal zeal towards their ends, for both see that, as poverty cannot depress merit, so riches cannot elevate incapacity.⁵⁸

cf. *Olybrio Consulibus, de Consulatu Stilichonis* (3 bks.), *de Bello Gildonico, de Bello Gothico*, and especially (for the tyrant) *in Rufinum* (2 bks.), and *in Eutropium* (2 bks.). Occasional references have been made from other poems; the date of this material is 395-403.

⁵⁷ *Pan. Theod.* 135-158.

⁵⁸ *De Con. Stil.* II, 100-131; the translation is that of Platnauer. The qualities of Stilicho are so often stressed that it may not be inconvenient to have them noted together here; implicitly, if not always explicitly, Claudian means these references not only as praise of his good patron

But the most elaborately drawn picture is that of Honorius which fills 200 lines. Theodosius, addressing his son Honorius, points out the qualities needed in a Roman emperor: birth is enough for dominion in the East, but not so for rule over the Roman people, "virtute decet, non sanguine niti"; the prince must first learn to know himself, control his anger and passions, for otherwise he will always be a slave to himself—"servitii patiere iugum, tolerabis iniquas / interius leges"; the prince leads a public life and his example is widely known; the love of the common people is the best bodyguard ("qui terret, plus ipse timet"); "he should deport himself as a citizen and a father, with a thought only for all, not for himself; moved by no personal desires, but only those of the state"; and obey his own laws, for the crowd always follows the pattern of the prince.⁵⁹ He should also be a good military leader in times of war.⁶⁰ At this point the young Honorius (10 years old) interrupts with protestations of earnest faith to his cause, whereupon Theodosius continues with advice on early training in the

but as the typical qualities which Stilicho has and which others so sadly lack: *de III Con. Hon.* 142-162, praise of S. by Theodosius for his generalship; *Epithal. Hon. et Mariae* 313-324, praise of S. for his civil accomplishments; *de Con. Stil.* I. 14-24, his good deeds in peace and war; *ibid.* 35-50, his goodness and genuineness from early youth; *ibid.* II. 6-62, his clemency, justice, love, good faith; *ibid.* II. 131-172, his freedom from all evils and vices; *ibid.* II. 106-129, he has pointed the way to new nobility: "nunquam libertas gratior extat / quam sub rege pio (114-115)"; *ibid.* II. 223-225, he is generous; *ibid.* II. 331, he is incorruptible by bribery; *de B. Goth.* 36-43, S. restored peace and justice, etc.; 111-123, S.'s care, moderation, planning, and persistence in adversity; *de B. Gyl.* 301-308, praise of S. as saviour: "hunc solum memorem solumque fidelem / experior (305)"; *in Ruf.* I. 260-266, the good qualities of S.; *ibid.* II, pref. 13-20, S.'s place in peace and the arts instead of war; *in Eutrop.* II. 501-515, S. the saviour again; *de VI. Con. Hon.* 436-440, S.'s general efficiency to emperor and state.

⁵⁹ This line, "mobile mutatur semper cum principe vulgus", was frequently used by the medieval writers; e.g., by Giraldus Cambrensis, *de Principis Instructione* I. 20.

⁶⁰ Lines 320-351 are devoted to advice on military training and tactics; the whole tenor is interesting when we realize that this passage was written in 398, which makes it roughly contemporaneous with the *Epitoma Rei Militaris* of Fl. Vegetius Renatus, a patriotic effort to secure a return to the old-fashioned, well-drilled Roman army. Cf. also *in Eutrop.* II. 409-431 on the degenerate army.

arts, and in history so that the young prince may have a store-house of precept and example upon which to draw.⁶¹

Now that we have Claudian's key-points in hand we may summarize his other comments without regard to the person or persons concerned. The ideal ruler should not be proud and haughty, but modest and friendly with his people;⁶² if born a prince he should live a life worthy of that good fortune, working hard to perfect himself;⁶³ and, remembering that virtue is its own reward, he should strive to lead a clean life, mild toward the commoners, devoted to the arts and learning.⁶⁴ Among his many requisite qualities, in addition to those already mentioned, are justice, calmness, fairness, self-control, humbleness, eloquence, temperance in food and drink, wisdom, generosity, soundness of mind in a sound body, purity of morals, affability of manner, devotion to the state, respect for the Senate, appropriateness of dress to his station and office without grudging, for if the ruler possesses these qualities his people will love and support him.⁶⁵ Theodosius is a good example of whom it is said:

digna legi virtus, ultro se purpura supplex
obtulit et solus meruit regnare rogatus.⁶⁶

It is not surprising that we should find in Claudian ample specimens of the typical material on the joys of peace as opposed to the vicissitudes of war; surely he had abundance enough of material upon which to draw. In the last lines of the first book *Against Rufinus* the new era under Honorius is praised.

Then will the land be common property, no boundaries will mark private fields, no furrow will be cut with the hooked plow-share, the harvester will rejoice in grain free-grown; the oaks will drip with honey, pools of wine and lakes of olive-oil will pour out; no valve will be sought for purple-dyed wool, but the flocks—to the utter confusion of

⁶¹ Based upon *de IV Con. Hon.* 212-351, 352-368 (Honorius' remarks), 369-418. These sections are identical with many in the various *specula principum*.

⁶² *De VI Con. Hon.* 53-64.

⁶³ *De III Con. Hon.* 15-14, 39-50, 83-87, 173-188.

⁶⁴ *Pan. Theod.* 1, 16-32, 61-112.

⁶⁵ *Pan. Theod.* 198-247; *Pan. Prob. et Olyb.* 39-54, 150-155; *Fesc. de Nup. Hon.* 1, 4, 5; *Epithal. Hon. et Mariae* 23-34; *de IV Con. Hon.* 24-40, 41-69, 111-121, 503-610.

⁶⁶ *De IV Con. Hon.* 47-48.

their shepherd—shall of themselves grow purple, and through all the deeps will the green seaweed sparkle with native gems.⁶⁷

Much the same is said of Probinus and his boons to society.⁶⁸ And throughout his poems Claudian's heroes are praised for their peaceful pursuits (if they are allowed by circumstances to have any) as well as for their military powers.⁶⁹ Not the least worthy policy is that of selecting capable and honorable magistrates for civil duties; the effect on general business and the daily life of the individual is marked.⁷⁰ "As you chose men brave in war and ready in heart, so in peace you chose men who were just. . . . We are ruled by men we know, and we enjoy the blessings of peace by the spoils of war."⁷¹

In the midst of his discussions for the good of the state Claudian frequently refers to the much used figure of the ship of state (often by implication), which is such a commonplace in the *specula*. One of the most forceful of these passages is in the Gothic War in which Stilicho exhorts his fellow-citizens to rally to the cause of Rome against the invasions of the Getae.

Of no avail to the laboring vessel are the wails of the sailors, for neither waves nor blasts of storm will grow calm at the idle lament and empty prayers. Now it becomes us to bend our hands and strive with all our might for the common good: work with sails, pump the ship, fit the rigging—and obey all the orders of the skilled master.⁷²

For the usual picture of the tyrant which is found in most *specula principum* ample material is furnished Claudian by Eutropius, Gildo and Rufinus. The rise in power of one who should never have it is always a bad thing: "asperius nihil est humili cum surgit in altum."⁷³ All vices are established in the tyrant's person, and hence under his rule; he is sure to be greedy, perjurious, wrathful, murderous, deceitful, cruel, lawless,

⁶⁷ In *Ruf.* I. 380-387.

⁶⁸ *Pan. Prob. et Olyb.* 166-173.

⁶⁹ Cf. on this point *de B. Goth.* 36-43 (Stilicho); *de Con. Stil.* I. 14-24; *ibid.* II. 1-5, 284; *de IV Con. Hon.* 4-69 (on Theodosius); in *Ruf.* I, pref. 17-18.

⁷⁰ *De IV Con. Hon.* 488-503.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 488-492.

⁷² *De B. Goth.* 271-277; on this figure cf. also *Pan. Theod.* 42-60; *de IV Con. Hon.* 419-426; in *Eutrop.* I. 424-427.

⁷³ In *Eutrop.* I. 181; cf. also 142-144.

lustful, immoderate in tastes, surrounding himself by similar men, typifying in his very manner and dress his mode of life.⁷⁴

He is the prey to the most diverse vices: whatsoever his bottomless greed has stolen, a yet more insatiable profligacy squanders. He is the terror of the living, the heir of the dead, the violator of the unwed, and the foul corrupter of the marriage-bed. He is never quiet; when greed is sated, lust is rampant; day is a misery to the rich, night to the married. . . . No form of death but is known to this artist in crime. He investigates the properties of different poisons and serpent's livid venom and knows the deadly herbs unknown even to step-mothers. If any condemns what he sees by a look or sighs with too much freedom, at the very festal board cut darts some henchman with drawn sword at a nod of his master. . . . The daily board is decked in infernal splendour, wet with slaughter, dreadful with fear of sword or suspected poison.⁷⁵

But death and eternal punishment come even to the tyrant, which is typically stated in the poem *Against Rufinus*.⁷⁶

The panegyrics antedating Claudian have already been mentioned; it remains to speak briefly of those roughly contemporary or later in date. About the year 325 Optatius Porphyrius, then in exile, wrote a series of some 20 short poems as a general encomium on the emperor Constantine and was successful in winning the emperor's favor and recall thereby. Nearly 100 years later the Spanish rhetorician Merobaudes composed a panegyric in honor of the third consulship of Aetius (446) of which 197 hexameters only have survived.⁷⁷ In the same century the famous bishop Sidonius Apollinaris wrote three panegyrics to his father-in-law Avitus who had usurped the throne at Toulouse in 455, to Majorianus who had vanquished Avitus, and to Anthemius the emperor, respectively, in 456, 458, 468. Early in the following century comes the poem addressed to Anastasius, the emperor of the East, by the grammarian Priscian at Constantinople in 512; and somewhat later are the various pieces, of a panegyrical nature, by Venantius Fortunatus of Poitiers addressed to several native kings and nobles. But it is not until the advent of Fl. Cresconius Corippus

⁷⁴ Cf. *de B. Göl.* 145-147, 148-162, 163-200, 396-398; in *Ruf.* I. 97-115, 170-195, 220-256; *ibid.* II. 78-85; in *Eutrop.* 555-558, 584-585.

⁷⁵ *De B. Göl.* 162-181. The translation is Platnauer's.

⁷⁶ In *Ruf.* II. 440-453.

⁷⁷ The editor, F. Vollmer (*M. G. H., Auct. Antiq.* XIV, Berlin 1905), estimates that about 246 verses have been lost.

with his panegyrics in three books, totalling 1600 lines, addressed to Justinus Minor (565-578), that we find anything approaching the volume or the power of Claudian.

While most of the works just enumerated do not have any passages that genuinely belong to the *genre* of *specula principum*, they all have—usually by implication—some references to the good prince and his pertinent qualities, such as we so often found in Claudian.⁷⁸

The ideal prince must be pious, a good soldier, gentle and merciful, just, wise, faithful, calm, virtuous in private life, the avenger of wrongs, clean in mind and body, stable, earnestly striving to bring only peace and continued prosperity to his people.⁷⁹ "Virtue wins its own rewards and labor gains its own success".⁸⁰ All unite in requiring military prowess;⁸¹ we could hardly expect them to do otherwise. The prince must know and control himself before attempting to control others; for "he who is his own censor easily moderates others";⁸² he should have a thorough knowledge of the law of his land,⁸³ and do his utmost to institute and maintain good courts, to rebuild cities, open up new navigation projects, stimulate business, and help the farmers.⁸⁴ Under such a prince nothing can harm the state;⁸⁵ and the prince is himself rewarded manifold.⁸⁶ Through

⁷⁸ In the *Paneg. Mess.* and the *Laus Pis.*, of the first cent. B. C. and A. D. respectively, the recipients are told that ancestry without personal worth is an empty affair (*Pan. Mess.* 28-32; *Laus Pis.* 3, 8-11: "perit omnis in illo / gentis honor, cuius laus est in origine sola"); and are complimented in the usual fashion for their abilities (*Pan. Mess.* 45-81, 82-105, 106-117; *Laus Pis.* 25-99); and Piso is further praised for his composed manner, good faith, mind, spiritual qualities, generosity, morality and moderation (100-139). Statius' flattering poem of only 47 lines really says nothing; it is a paean of praise to the patron.

⁷⁹ Cf. Porphyry. II. 8, 19-28; Venant. Fortun. II. 6. 15-77, VI. 1a. 19-28, 2 *passim*, VII. 1. 22-32, 5. 15-42, 7 *passim*; Prisc. 41-57, 228-229; Sid. Apoll., *Pan. Maj.* 148-154.

⁸⁰ Merob., *Pan.* II. 47-48.

⁸¹ Porphyry. II. 19-28; Merob., *Pan.* II. 1-48; Sid. Apoll., *Pan. Anthem.* 283-287; *id.*, *Pan. Avit.* 191-294, 538-575; Prisc. 58-134; Venant. Fortun. VI. 1. 68-78.

⁸² Venant. Fortun. VI. 1. 93-96.

⁸³ Sid. Apoll., *Pan. Avit.* 312-315; Venant. Fortun. VII. 5. 15-42.

⁸⁴ Prisc. 180-203; cf. Sid. Apoll., *Pan. Avit.*, 452: *perit bellum, date rursus aratra*; and *ibid.*, 538-575, and *Pan. Maj.* 293-304.

⁸⁵ Venant. Fortun. VI. 1. 90.

⁸⁶ Sid. Apoll., *Pan. Avit.* 568-569.

the constructive program of a progressive prince saner feelings are restored to men, the kingdom itself is rendered more secure, confidence returns to all,⁸⁷ the ship of state⁸⁸ rides at peace. If in addition he surrounds himself with good courtiers, and renders thanks to God to whom he owes all, he is indeed a good prince.⁸⁹

The last citation from Priscian brings us in close relation to Corippus in whom the Christian element is very strong, and whom we have reserved for separate discussion because of his importance. The first part of his general preface is lacking, but the opening lines as it now stands impress upon the ruler the debt he owes to God: "God placed all dominions at your feet, conquered proud kings and made hostile bands to diminish",⁹⁰ This same indebtedness to divine assistance is plainly stated throughout the three books; e. g. where Justinus is urged to accept the rule devolving upon him at the death of his uncle:

The laws call for you, the courts call for you, you, the ornament of the imperial rule, the light and goodness (*virtus*). In you our well-being, in you all our hope rises again. We beg of you, yield to your people, succeed your uncle. Break the delay, take up the gifts of God, wield the scepter of your fathers, and take the name of Augustus which [before] was lacking;⁹¹

and the opening lines of the second book where he prays for divine guidance in the rule which he has just assumed;⁹² and again in that same book wherein his first act upon ascending the throne is that of acknowledgment to God of His gift:

God who rules over all things has given us this kingdom and crown of our fathers, and the Father of all things has placed on us the task of ruling that which He has created. We praise the work of the Creator and gaze in awe upon the King. We give our thanks and admit our debt.⁹³

One of the most interesting passages is that which Pietas addresses to Justinus urging him to accept the rule; it really is abstract theory, although explicitly the qualities mentioned for the ideal prince are those found in Justinus, thus proving that he is the right person for this honor. Here we learn that

⁸⁷ Prisc. 220-227, 139, 135-138.

⁸⁸ Sid. Apoll., *Pan. Anthem.* 14-17.

⁸⁹ Prisc. 229-254, 4-7.

⁹⁰ Pref., 1-3.

⁹¹ I. 148-153.

⁹² II. 1-46.

⁹³ II. 178-183.

the good ruler must be virtuous, strong, healthy, prudent, sound-thinking, vigilant, willing to do right, brave, serious, the protector of his people and his kingdom.⁹⁴ Hardly less interesting is Justinus' praise of his uncle. "The state and world have lost a father, not a master. What person with his kindly affection did he not uphold, nourish, advise, foster and love?"⁹⁵ Of course the prince should be pious,⁹⁶ just, for "the mind of a just man shines brighter than the sun",⁹⁷ generous,⁹⁸ god-fearing,⁹⁹ moderate in habits of food and drink,¹⁰⁰ always alert and ready for emergencies.¹⁰¹ He is the "vicar of God";¹⁰² he is subject to God for his acts, as his people are subject to him.¹⁰³ Who himself loves well will be loved:¹⁰⁴ he who strives for peace will have peace, and he who makes war will have war.¹⁰⁵

The "organic analogy" is effectively used by Justinus in his coronation speech,¹⁰⁶ in which he points out that God in his wisdom created the states of man in form like the physical body: the prince, with Sapientia as his consort and eyes, is the head, the senate "through whose plans and efforts the state has subdued peoples and conquered kingdoms", is the breast and arms.¹⁰⁷ His charge to the senate on its duties and methods of rule corresponds exactly to the sections in the *specula principum* on the theory of good government. That body must revere God;

⁹⁴ I. 51-65. In the short panegyric (51 lines) addressed to Anastasius, quaestor and magister, asking for the favor of the court, Corippus has worked out a not unpleasing figure in which Anastasius, "sancti pars magna senatus / compositor morum iuris legumque sacerdos (I. 15-17)," is a spreading tree (under whose shade all find shelter) whose roots are nourished by an adjacent fountain, which, of course, is the emperor from whom all blessings flow. In lines 24-32 the qualities of Anastasius are set forth: the glory of the magistri, the honor of the nobles, the arbiter of the world, making laws and justice, the father of the poor, helpful, free from greed, a worthy assistant to the prince.

⁹⁵ I. 167-169. Justinus' comment is interesting: "And yet many wished to harm him who did no harm. The place of authority is not without envy" (170-171).

⁹⁶ I. 257-271.

⁹⁹ III. 360-366.

⁹⁷ II. 156.

¹⁰⁰ III. 105-110.

⁹⁸ II. 399-406; III. 349-352.

¹⁰¹ III. 138-144.

¹⁰² II. 425, 428: "Qui facit hoc, deus est; deus est in corde regentum: / ille est omnipotens, hic omnipotentis imago."

¹⁰³ IV. 321-325.

¹⁰⁵ III. 339-340; cf. 328-340.

¹⁰⁴ IV. 321-322.

¹⁰⁶ II. 184-274.

rule justly, be incorruptible, punish the offenders and reward the deserving, manage the public funds honestly; in short, be the mainstay of the commonwealth.¹⁰⁸ Of similar nature is the charge to the commonpeople, urging them to live morally, peaceably, without quarrel, refraining from theft or violence, justifying the efforts of the prince in their behalf.¹⁰⁹

CONCLUSION

From the discussion just finished several points are obvious. Considerably more of the material is in verse than in prose; over three-fourths of all the material is from the fourth century or later; whereas the earlier material is (as we should expect) from Italy, the later is predominantly from Gaul, although Africa claims some attention; ¹¹⁰ the majority of the addressees are of the western empire as are the writers in most cases. The almost spontaneous growth of this *genre* in the fourth century is clearly due to the flourishing schools of rhetoric in Africa and especially in Gaul, and to an even greater degree to the oriental influences at work on western civilization from the time

¹⁰⁷ II. 190-205.

¹⁰⁸ II. 206-274. This passage would repay reading in detail.

¹⁰⁹ II. 331-356.

¹¹⁰ The appended chronologico-geographical conspectus may not be without interest; the titles indented are in verse; an asterisk marks the Christian writers.

Pan. Mess.	: Italy s. 1 B. C.
Laus Pis.	: Italy s. 1 A. D.
Pliny	: Italy s. 1-2
Statius	: Italy s. 1-2
Fronto	: Italy s. 2
Paneg. Latini	: Gaul s. 3-4
*Ausonius	: Gaul s. 4
Symmachus	: Italy-Gaul
Optatius Porphyrius	: ?Africa
Claudian	: Africa
*Merobaudes	: Spain s. 5
*Sidonius Apollinaris	: Gaul
Priscian	: Africa (Constantinople) s. 6
*Venantius Fortunatus	: Italy-Gaul
*Ennodius	: Gaul
*Cassiodorus	: Italy
*Corippus	: Africa

of Diocletian on with the removal of the imperial court from Rome, the seclusion of the person of the emperor, the mystical eastern glamor of god-like perfection centering in the ruler, and the direct contact with contemporary Greek writers and writings.¹¹¹

In the fourth century the emperor Julian himself composed several panegyrics, in Greek as were all his writings, to his cousin Constantius and others, and in the same century the rhetoricians Libanios and Themistios wrote letters and miscellaneous pieces of a political nature. Synesios, Bishop of Ptolemais, while on an embassy to Arcadius at Constantinople read to him an essay *On Kingship* in 399, and in 527 Agapetus the Deacon dedicated a little book called *de Officiis Regis* to Justinian. Beyond the general influences of the period just noted, there seems to have been no specific influence or encouragement under any one emperor; the *Zeitgeist* is alone responsible.¹¹²

While the desire to eulogize is the motivating spirit in all these works, we cannot be at all certain, in the face of the parallel *genre* of the *specula principum* continuous throughout these centuries and many others, that at least the more able and public-spirited writers did not have a double purpose. As the great humanist Erasmus said just ten centuries later in defense of his own panegyric to prince Philip of Burgundy in 1504, "no other way of correcting a prince is so efficacious as presenting, in the guise of flattery, the pattern of a really good prince. Thus do you instil virtues and remove faults in such a manner that you seem to urge the prince to the former and restrain him from the latter."¹¹³

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¹¹¹ It is interesting that we can also parallel the much earlier panegyric of Pliny to Trajan by the four books *On Kingship* (about 100 pages) of Dio Chrysostom which were dedicated to the same emperor.

¹¹² Schanz, *Roemische Literaturgeschichte*, III (Munich 1922), p. 152 has a clear statement: "Nicht diese Schriftsteller sind in erster Linie die Schuldigen, sondern die, welche sich solches Lob bieten lassen. Der Herr findet immer seine Knechte."

¹¹³ Allen, *Opus Epistularum Erasmi*, Oxford 1906-, Ep. 179, 42-45; cf. also Ep. 180, 33-44 and *passim*.

PRESUPPOSITIONS OF ARISTOTLE'S *METAPHYSICS*.

[A list of the assertions in Aristotle's *Metaphysics* which stand as unproved premises. Only those presuppositions which lie without the field of logic are discussed. They are classified roughly as "metaphysical," "epistemological," "evaluative."]

To understand a philosopher is not merely to understand what he says but to know why he says it. This is particularly true in the case of the ancients. Their ideas are likely to seem absurd or unfounded and their exegesis is almost inevitably anachronistic unless we know two things about them: first, what modes of thinking determined their reasoning, by forming their basic metaphors; second, what propositions seemed self-evident to them. It is with a view to clarifying certain of the fundamental assertions of Aristotle that this paper is written.

It should be stated at once that we are only concerned with the *Metaphysics*, for reasons which need not be elaborated. We are also studying simply those fundamental assertions which lie outside the traditional field of logic. That is, we are not concerned with the so-called "laws of thought." They are of cardinal importance in determining his theories but require special treatment. Finally no claim to finality is made here: we may not have succeeded in unearthing every important premise of the *Metaphysics*, but the list is fairly complete.

A warning should be pronounced against interpreting the words "presupposition," "axiom," "assumption" as used in this paper too strictly. They are not employed here with that nicety which one has a right to expect in a philosophical paper. Some of the assertions which have been tagged indifferently with these labels might for certain purposes demand labels of greater distinction, but I am willing to leave the satisfaction of that demand to logicians. A greater degree of analysis would show that the assertions are not all independent; some are logically entailed in others. I have usually lifted the axiom bodily out of the context in which it appears and left it in the form in which it appears. The advantages of doing this will be obvious to the historian, if not to the logician.

I

The Metaphysical Presuppositions.

1. *The Empedoclean analysis of change, Metaphysics A, ch. 3, 4.*

This presupposition envisages in change (a) something which suffers the change (the patient) and (b) something which produces the change (the agent).

According to this theory of change, legalism or positivism, to use modern terms, is ruled out and the scientist explains not by simply noting the curve of a change and its direction, by tracing a natural history, but by correlating every change with an agent, which becomes in Aristotelian language the efficient cause.

2. *The natural priority of the mover.*

τὸ κινεῖν τοῦ κινουμένου φύσει πρότερόν ἐστι. *Metaph.* 1010 b 37, Γ, ch. 5.

This axiom is introduced to prove that there must be something prior to sensation, of which one has sensation. It is basic in Aristotle's refutation of phenomenalism. It has an obvious relationship to our first axiom in that it gives the efficient cause a natural priority over its patients. "Natural priority," Aristotle equates in *Metaphysics* 1018 b 10 (Δ, ch. 11) with "absolute" priority and speaks of things which are "nearer some beginning" in the various natural series, such as time, or movement. Thus natural priority does not mean temporal priority, for the prime mover, the ἀρχή, has natural priority and yet must not be earlier in the temporal series than what it moves. The axiom is in fact one of the premises which help establish the existence of a prime mover.¹

3. *Equivalence of genesis with separation or combination.*

τὰ μὲν συγκρίσει τὰ δὲ διακρίσει ἐξ ἀλλήλων γίγνεται. *Metaph.* 988 b 32, A, ch. 8.

Aristotle is discussing in the section where this appears the weakness of his predecessors in positing one of the elements as ἀρχή. If the elements are simple, no one of them could arise out of the others, for such genesis is separation and combination, which obviously could occur only in compounds.

¹ B, ch. 4 should be studied in connection with this axiom. Especially 999 b 5 ff.

In the *De Generatione et Corruptione* 329 a 24, we see clearly that Aristotle believes the traditional elements to be compounds of the opposites in *potentia*, heat, cold, moistness, dryness. It is likely in fact that he envisaged qualitative change as the passage of floating qualities from one thing to another. Thus in discussing spontaneous production (*Metaph.* Z, ch. 9), he says that the heat in the movement of a masseur's hand makes heat in the body of the patient (1034 a 26).² It would appear that at least the opposites are atomic qualities, which are, because elementary, indestructible. This logically leads Aristotle to assert (*Metaph.* 1000 b 25, B, ch. 4) that to perish is to be resolved into the things from which a thing came into being. Consequently an absolutely simple thing would be eternal. Conversely, eternal things must be simple (*Metaph.* 1088 b 14, N, ch. 2). This is the logical reason why later thinkers who wish to prove that the soul is immortal will also try to prove its simplicity.³

4. *The finitude of change.*

οὔτε ἀπείρος ἐστὶν οὐδὲμία κίνησις ἀλλὰ πάσης ἐστὶ τέλος.

Metaph. 999 b 10, B, ch. 4.

The context here shows that Aristotle is thinking not only of change of place but of any change, a use of *κίνησις* which is not unusual. The "end," of course, is ambiguous, meaning not only the termination of the process but its goal. Hence we have in effect a reassertion of the teleological principle which is argued at length in the *Physics* (II 8). It is suggested by the first of our axioms, for once all change is believed to involve an agent as well as a patient, it will be believed that the agent is not operating blindly. At the same time Aristotle must account for accidents or frustration. Accordingly a fifth axiom is introduced.

5. *The possibility of unfulfilled potencies.*

τὸ δυνατόν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἐκείνως (i. e., ἐνεργείᾳ) πᾶν ἔχειν.

Metaph. 1003 a 2, B, ch. 6.

Aristotle believes so strongly in this that he uses it to prove

² Cf. his discussion of the reality of the changing in 1010 a 15, Γ, ch. 5.

³ Plato also used this reasoning in proving the immortality of the soul. *Phaedo* 78.

that, were the elements potential, it might be possible that nothing which is would exist.

This presupposition is one of the most important differences between Aristotle and the Platonists. Its denial is what produces the "principle of plenitude" (to use the phrase of Professor Lovejoy)⁴ whose importance in platonistic speculation is of the greatest. It is what saves Aristotle from approving of every eccentricity and idiosyncrasy, for though the recognition of the existence of something does not logically entail approving of it, the general practice of philosophers has been to model their system of values upon what they imagine to be the behaviour of the cosmos.

6. *The necessity of a substratum in generation from opposites.*

γίγνεται πάντα ἐξ ἐναντίων ὡς ὑποκειμένου τινός. *Metaph.*

1087 a 36, N, ch. 1.

Generation from opposites is qualitative change or alteration. But, as we have suggested above, alteration proceeds by the appearance or disappearance of floating qualities. Qualities must qualify something. The something which they qualify is the substratum. Therefore the first principle cannot be a quality. Aristotle thus is able to refute those of his predecessors who treat the contraries as first principles.

7. *The priority of the essential.*

οὐθὲν κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς πρότερον τῶν καθ' αὐτό. *Metaph.* 1065 b

2, K, ch. 8.

This appears in Aristotle's summary of E, ch. 3, 4, upon the accidental. It is used to prove there that, though chance and spontaneity are really causes of things, since they are accidental, intelligence (νοῦς) and nature (φύσις) are prior causes.⁵ This gives the philosopher as one of his first tasks the distinguishing of the accidental from the essential and a means of checking his conclusions about the ultimate causes of events.

8. *Cosmic good government.*

τὰ δὲ ὄντα οὐ βούλεται πολιτεύεσθαι κακῶς. *Metaph.* 1076 a

4, A, ch. 10.

What Aristotle means by good government is monarchy and

⁴ See his "Optimism and Romanticism," *Pub. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, Vol. XLII, No. 4, p. 930.

⁵ Cf. *Phys.* ii. 1989, 5-13.

he proves the unity of cosmic rule by this axiom. His optimism is of course general among philosophers. To call attention to its effect upon occidental thought would be perhaps foolish, for it is known to all. Yet its self-evidence does not seem so striking to us as it did to our fathers and we should be inclined either to admit the possibility of cosmic maladministration or to insist upon the irrelevancy of adjectives of value in such a field. Aristotle's optimism goes hand in hand with his teleology. The latter is saved by the former and the former is saved by his presupposition of the priority of the essential.

9. *The principle of parsimony.*

The principle of parsimony is not overtly stated in the *Metaphysics* but is used here and there. When, for instance, Aristotle in his summary of his predecessors comes to those who "posit the ideas as causes" (*Metaph.* 990 a 34, A, ch. 9)⁵ he uses this principle to refute them. The ideas, he maintains (*Metaph.* 991 a 9), contribute nothing to sensible things, either to their being known or to their being.⁶

The principle of parsimony is perhaps related to the axiom of cosmic good government, which means government by one cause.

II

Besides these nine metaphysical assumptions, or presuppositions, or axioms (the name given to them is unimportant), there is a second group which might be called "epistemological."

1. *The intelligibility of the world.*

This is, of course, fundamental throughout the *Metaphysics*. By "knowledge," in the context which interests us, Aristotle means (*Metaph.* 994 b 29) a knowledge of the causes. εἰδέναι οἰόμεθα ὅτι τὰ αἰτία γινώσκωμεν. He uses this principle to prove that there cannot be an infinite number of kinds of causes, since if there were we could not know them. Aristotle here is not saying that were the causes infinite in kind, we could not know that they were infinite in kind. He simply asserts that their infinity would prevent complete knowledge of their effects. And in some fields, such as ethics and, in this book of the *Meta-*

⁵ This is repeated almost verbatim in M, ch. v.

physics (see ch. III, esp. 995 a 15), physics, complete accuracy (*ἀκριβολογία*) is impossible. Complete accuracy is found only where there is knowledge of universals, and in that case there is no matter. Aristotle, as every one knows, is worried about this and admits (*Metaph.* 1087 a 10, M, ch. 10) that it gives rise to metaphysical difficulties—the main difficulty being the separateness of form and matter. For if knowledge is knowledge of the causes, and one of the causes is the matter, then why should there be perfect knowledge only in that field in which no matter is present? ⁷

2. *The impossibility of knowledge of the changing.*

περί γε τὸ πάντῃ πάντως μεταβάλλον οὐκ ἐνδέχεται ἀληθεύειν.
Metaph. 1010 a 9, I, ch. 5.

Aristotle uses this principle in his refutation of sensationalism, and he attributes the scepticism of the sensualists to their own acceptance of it. Its use clearly illustrates the fact that for Aristotle knowledge was "knowledge-about," not "knowledge-of." But such knowledge was fundamentally knowledge about the causes, as we have seen, and the flux of sensation could never lead us to that. By Axiom I 2, sensation is inarticulable in itself and simply an index of a substance about which there can be knowledge. But to reach the substance through the sensations is impossible. Aristotle here takes a point of view not only exactly opposite that of the phenomenalist but opposite that of the empirical scientist, if there be any, who would say that we could reach an infra-perceptual cause through a study of its perceptual effects. One might reach a knowledge of certain regularities in the data of observation but one could never reach matter or form or agent or essence. What Aristotle suggests as his own technique may now be stated.

3. *The epistemological priority of the changeless.*

δεῖ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἀεὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐχόντων καὶ μηδεμίαν μεταβολὴν
ποιουμένων ἀληθὲς θηρεύειν. *Metaph.* 1063 a 13, K, ch. 6.

Aristotle, again attacking the sensualists, points out that there are some things in nature which do not change, and that

⁷ There is a bare possibility that the universals have *ὅλην νοητή*. For the interpretation of this difficult concept, see Ross's edition of the *Metaph.*, Commentary (Vol. II, p. 199), on *Metaph.* 1036 a 9-10.

knowledge should begin with them rather than with the flux. He here distinguishes between the individual's total experience, which undeniably contains the flux, and knowledge which is over-individual and may—though Aristotle does not say this explicitly—explain the flux. Since the essence is revealed by the qualities—*ἡ οὐσία κατὰ τὸ ποῖόν*, *Metaph.* 1063 a 27—and not by the quantity, the flux is explicable insofar as it is a flux of qualities. These, once they have arisen, may disappear but their quality is eternal regardless of their duration.

This axiom not only is used as a guide in any specific science, but it would appear to be the reason for what has sometimes been called the abstractness, or *a priori*ism of Aristotelian thought. It aids axiom II 2 in completely severing that mode of reflection from the procedure of laboratory science, as empiricists interpret laboratory science. It has now become a commonplace of the philosophy of science that a complete empiricism would amount to a blind fumbling of laboratory apparatus in which nothing could be learned since there would be nothing to study. Everyone probably admits as a minimum that experiments and observations are performed because of their supposed relevance to problems. Aristotle's peculiarity consists in maintaining that the changeless is not completely prior to experience but is discovered in experience. Hence the *a priori* for him is not prior to all knowledge, nor prior to all experience. It is simply prior to some part of knowledge, namely knowledge about changing things.

We see this clearly when he is discussing the truth of philosophy (*Metaph.* 993 b 24). Philosophy must be true because it deals with eternal things.⁸ Since the eternal things cause all the other things, truth about the eternal things contributes the truth to knowledge about the other things. But the eternal things are not "metempirical" though they are not perceptual.

4. *The epistemological priority of the form.*

λεκτέον τὸ εἶδος καὶ ἢ εἶδος ἔχει ἕκαστον, τὸ δ' ὑλικὸν οὐδέποτε καθ' αὐτὸ λεκτέον. *Metaph.* 1035 a 7, Z, ch. 10.

This means in practice that the purpose of a thing tells one

⁸ Aristotle does not explain how we could have complete knowledge of eternal things. We have discussed why this should be a problem under Axiom II 1.

more about it than the stuff of which it is made.⁹ Here again Aristotle's point of view is the opposite of that of the 19th-century science, not only because it is teleological but because it is anti-materialistic, in Aristotle's sense of "materialistic." The 19th century universalized the materialistic technique to the point of denying the explanatory efficacy of purpose even in human beings. It is certain that the experience of doing something for the sake of an end of which one is aware is a genuine experience. Some writers would maintain it to be also certain that below the psychological level, i. e. in physiology, biochemistry, and down, there is no evidence whatsoever of the same experience. It is granted for the sake of that argument that every bit of teleological behavior could be exhaustively analysed into elements no single one of which was aware of an end. But since the explanation of a type of event does not prove that event to be an illusion, the explanation (or analysis) of purpose by the non-purposive in no way entails the non-existence of purpose.

Aristotle reached his teleology by analogical argument. He picked the one feature which seemed common to all purposive behaviour, namely the movement towards an end, and finding arrivals at ends in the non-human world, immediately concluded that there was therefore purpose in the non-human world. One might think it more proper to conclude that therefore reaching an end was not the differentia of purposive action.

Aristotle simply could not assert that conclusion because he was convinced that the form of a thing was its "nature" and that in "natural"—as opposed to artificial—changes, things strove to be what they were. This to be sure sounds absurd and linguistically it is absurd. But it makes it possible for Aristotle to believe in events "contrary to nature," in monsters, in accidents, in perversions, in chance. We, who have chosen the materialistic point of view—perhaps it would be less disquieting to say the "hylistic" point of view—are struck dumb by these terms unless we substitute statistics for logic in dealing with nature. The statistician can interpret that which is "contrary to nature" as that which is unusual and even measure its un-

⁹ Cf. 1035 b 15 on the logical priority of the soul.

usualness. But the philosopher who confuses formal logic with empirical science—if there be any such—is helpless.

It should also be noted in this place that as the form (purpose) and essence were coincidental in natural change, so were the essence and the class-concept. Thus essences could be hierarchically arranged—as in the Tree of Porphyry—and the upper levels could be interpreted as both the pervasive essences and ends of the lower. In Neo-platonism, this mode of thinking became very important and a whole set of religious practices seemed to be entailed in “the way up” and “the way down.”¹⁰

This principle, moreover, clarifies the meaning of two other Aristotelian opinions which are ethical and psychological rather than epistemological, but which are used in the *Metaphysics*. The first is a definition, “a man is free who exists for his own sake, not for another’s,” *ἄνθρωπος . . . ἐλεύθερος ὁ ἐαν-οῦ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μὴ ἄλλου ὄν*, *Metaph.* 982 b 25, A, ch. 2, almost at the beginning of the treatise. This might be paraphrased to read, “Human freedom is the realization of humanity.”

The second of these opinions is psychological, and is the rationalistic interpretation of desire, *ὁρεγόμεθα δὲ διότι δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ δεκεῖ διότι ὁρεγόμεθα*, *Metaph.* 1072 a 29, A, ch. 7. Aristotle has enough common sense to know that we sometimes have irrational desires for evil, but in this passage he is discussing desire according to nature, and what we think of as an emotion is nothing more than the striving of things for their ends. That he should call this “desire” is consistent with his identification of form and purpose. For if we desire our ends, why should not the natural order? Had he been more sceptical, he might have been more worried about the “contrary to nature.” But since he was not, he could account for evil desires as desires contrary to nature.¹¹

III

What a man praises is often more interesting than what he describes. In occidental philosophy this is particularly true, for it has been a habit of philosophers to “ground,” as they

¹⁰ For traces of the hierarchy of Being in contemporaries of Aristotle, see *Metaph.* 1028 b 25, Z, ch. 2.

¹¹ For the identification of *τὸ ὁρεκτόν* and *τὸ νοητόν* as a physical principle, see Ross’s commentary on *Metaph.* 1072 a 26.

say, their theory of values upon their metaphysics. During the post-Kantian period, from which we have finally emerged, it was even the habit, one would imagine, to ground one's metaphysics upon one's theory of values. At any rate man as the darling of the cosmos has seldom been ridiculed and it seems to be taken for granted that it is the world's duty to insure his ends. I recall no instances where this type of argument has been used in regard to the other animals, except perhaps Buddhism.

Aristotle's *Metaphysics* gives us a number of axioms about value which not only clarify the Aristotelian theology but also the ethics and aesthetics.

1. *The evil of perversion.*

ἡ διαφθορὰ τῶν κακῶν ἐστίν. *Metaph.* 1051 a 21, ©, ch. 9.

This establishes the principle that what does not follow the rule is bad. The rule, however, though it may be detected statistically, is not the statistical norm. It is the "natural." Consequently perversion is *παρὰ φύσιν*. But in being contrary to nature, it is being contrary to the essence, or contrary to the form of something. This notion was of course older than Aristotle, for the argument about the relative merits of nature and something opposed to it in its various senses, learning, custom, art, is at least as old as Pindar. The identification of "nature" with the "essence" makes the principle one of metaphysical importance in Aristotle and weaves into the texture of the cosmos a pattern of value.

It should again be emphasized that this principle does not commit Aristotle to urging men to follow the crowd, in spite of the fact that the rule is detected statistically. He believes, of course, that the crowd may be mistaken. For, though unlikely, it is a possibility that a great number of people should suffer an accident which would prevent the realization of their forms.

2. *The perfection of the eternal.* *Metaph.* 1051 a 19, ©, ch. 9.

This would seem to follow from III 1. As a matter of fact, it is probably logically independent of it, although I make no pretense of a logical analysis of these "axioms." The eternal things cannot be imperfect—evil, defective, or perverse—for two reasons. (1) They are the standards of imperfection, by which

degrees of evil are measured. They are that of which imperfect things fall short. (2) Aristotle may have felt that since perversion is a failure to achieve one's form, perversion could only occur in time. An eternal thing by its very eternality could not participate in a temporal event. The former is the more important reason.

3. *The superiority of the prior.*

ἐτι ὅπου τὸ μὲν βέλτιον τὸ δὲ χεῖρον, ἀεὶ τὸ βέλτιον πρότερον.

Metaph. 999 a 13, B, ch. 3.

Here the prior is obviously not the temporally prior, since the individual potency may precede the actuality. Aristotle is thinking of the forms, which are eternal, in this passage the genera. Since the forms may be identified with genera, and since the genera may be hierarchically arranged, the universe may be made to illustrate a scale of values as well as of being. Aristotle, himself, makes very little of this, but the Neo-platonists, as everyone knows, will lose no opportunity to bring it into play. It is the presupposition which will lend plausibility to the medieval equation of the *ens realissimum* with the *ens perfectissimum*, and which will introduce the difficulties of pantheism into Christianity.

This principle now shows why Aristotle thought the world must not be governed badly (*v. I 8 supra*). For the government of the world is the attraction of the world to the first cause, and, had Aristotle been consistent, the first cause would have been simply the Form of the Cosmos. But, as we know, he was not consistent. He was prevented from being consistent by his doctrine of chance, for had the Prime Mover been simply the Form of the Cosmos, either there could be no chance, or there would be chance in the Form of the Cosmos, which in his mind would have been a contradiction in terms.

4. *The principle of primitivism.*

With all this emphasis upon the good's being logically but not temporally prior, one is surprised to find Aristotle maintaining that the oldest is the most to be honored. τιμώτατον τὸ πρεσβύτατον, *Metaph.* 983 b 32, A, ch. 3. How seriously Aristotle took this, we have no way of knowing, and in a world like his, which was without beginning or end, age was not a prime con-

sideration. The opinion may be simply an intrusion of traditional ways of thinking into his writings, for he is discussing the supposititious views of Hesiod upon the origin of the world. It is undoubtedly something of a blemish and must prove disquieting to anti-primitivists who hope to count him among them.¹²

5. *The superiority of the terminal.*

τῶν ἐπιστημῶν τὴν αὐτῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ τοῦ εἰδέναι χάριν αἰρετὴν
οὔσαν μᾶλλον εἶναι σοφίαν ἢ τὴν τῶν ἀποβαινόντων ἔνεκεν.
Metaph. 982 a 14, A, ch. 2.

Aristotle is here discussing not the relative value of all things, but only of the sciences. Nevertheless, from what we know of the rest of his system we may not unfairly extend the principle beyond the field of knowledge. It is simply the assumption of the superiority of ends to instruments, which does not begin to show its importance until the hierarchical universe is outlined. When that picture is completed, the intellectual love of God becomes the greatest value in the universe.

6. *Anti-Romanticism.*

That there is a last step in the scale of ends appears in *Metaphysics* 994 a 8. We may call this the anti-romantic principle. It is self-evident to most people who are ignorant of human psychology. To those of an introspective turn of mind, it appears to be logically sound but contrary to fact. For it overlooks the psychological truth that human beings actually do evaluate instruments as ends and do find terminal value in practices which began by being instrumental. There may be ethical reasons against this but its existence cannot be denied. Indeed one of the first principles of aesthetics is that when an instrument loses its utility it takes on beauty—most (if not all) of our fine arts are obsolete instrumentalities, and many of the pleasures of

¹² See, for instance, Mr. Irving Babbitt's *On Being Creative*, which has as its motto, τὸ πρῶτον οὐ σπέρμα ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ τὸ τέλειον, *Metaph.* 1072 b 35. This was in some ways an unfortunate epigraph. Mr. Babbitt translates, "The first is not the seed but the perfect," which gives no clue to the fact that Aristotle is here discussing the temporal priority of living things and their seeds, and concludes that the hen comes before the egg. The finished product, that is, comes historically before the offspring, which might be an argument for chronological primitivism within any isolated strand of history.

life consist in performing practices which God and Nature intended to serve further ends as if they were ends in themselves, witless dining and love-making. This, as I say, does not weaken Aristotle's reasoning, but it may discredit his power of observation.

IV

This survey of the presuppositions of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* may explain to some extent the orientation of his reasoning. It should be apparent to anyone who ever stopped to reflect upon the course of thinking that, when it is more than random association, it will never reach any end unguided. The fertility of a deductive system never develops by itself. In plain language one has to know what one wants to prove before one can begin to reason. That is why it is particularly important to know what a philosopher takes for granted. This paper aspires to discover that information in one work of one philosopher.

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NOTES ON LUCAN.

SECOND GROUP.¹

1.

i. 526 ff.

- Ignota obscurae viderunt sidera noctes
 Ardentemque polum flammis caeloque volantes
 Obliquas per inane faces crinemque timendi
 Sideris et terris mutantem regna cometen.
 530 Fulgura fallaci micuerunt crebra sereno,
 Et varias ignis tenso dedit aere formas;
 Nunc iaculum longo, nunc sparso lumine lampas
 Emicuit caelo. Tacitum sine nubibus ullis
 Fulmen et arctois rapiens de partibus ignem
 535 Percussit Latiare caput, stellaeque minores
 Per vacuum solitae noctis decurrere tempus
 In medium venere diem.

This passage lists some of the portents in the heavens at the outbreak of the civil war. In line 531 the variant readings *tenso . . . aere* and *denso . . . aere* have been made the subject of rather extensive discussion.

The situation is complicated in the extreme. In the first place, confusion between forms of *tensus* and *densus* in the manuscripts would appear to have been easy, if we may judge from other occurrences in the text of Lucan.²

Second, there are passages in Seneca's *Naturales Quaestiones* which Lucan may well have had in mind at this point. But direct connection with Seneca's treatise is uncertain; and, granting the connection, there is room for difference of opinion as to the particular passage or passages exerting influence here.

Third, the relation of line 531 to its context is problematical. The passage as a whole may be made up of items thrown together without any strict system; or line 531 may have a close connection with what precedes; or, as others think, 531 finds exegesis in the two lines which immediately follow it.

In the face of such uncertainties, it seems rather hazardous to take any liberty with the wording of 531, where *tenso . . . aere* is strongly supported by the text tradition. It is also in favor of this reading that it is "more difficult" than the commonplace

¹ See Vol. LII, 49 ff.

² iv. 73, v. 714.

denso . . . *aere*, and hence more likely to have been tampered with than vice versa.

It may be, too, that the choice of verb in 531 (*dedit* . . . *formas*) has some bearing in this connection. It suggests at any rate that Lucan may have meant to say that fire gave various forms to the *aer*, in other words, that as the *aer* merged into fire, various manifestations were observed.³

It is true that the text reads *aere* and not *aeri*; but Lucan and other poets were quite ready to sacrifice an unmetrical dative in favor of the ablative, e. g.

JUVENAL, i. 69 ff.

Occurrit matrona potens, quae molle Calenum
Porrectura viro miscet sitiente rubetam.

With *Porrectura* a dative naturally is expected; and the reader so understands *viro* until he reaches *sitiente*, which is called for by the meter. The "ablative absolute" ⁴ is not as exact as the dative would have been, but it serves the poet's purpose well enough.⁵ So again:

LuCAn, ix. 315

Et nunc pontus adhuc *Phoebo siccante* repugnat

This refers to the Syrtes, which are part land and part water. The latter element tries to hold its own against the effect of the sun's action; with *repugnat* the dative would be the normal construction, but metrical considerations demand *siccante*.

If in the passage under discussion *dedit* calls for a dative which in like manner is displaced by the ablative,⁶ the substi-

³ See the comment of J. S. Reid on the meaning of *tenso*, which is cited by Heitland in the *Classical Review* 15 (1901), 80. There is a rejoinder by Housman (*ibid.* 130), who holds for the reading *denso*.

In this connection it is well to remember that Lucan is often far from critical in matters historical and geographical. Probably in natural science he was no more precise. It may be counted certain that he would not carefully weigh all possible interpretations of the sources of information before venturing to write *tenso*.

⁴ On the adequacy of this name see "The Ablative Absolute and the Stenographic Ablative," University of California Publications in Classical Philology, 10, 203 ff.

⁵ On this point see further, same series 11, 256 ff.

⁶ It should be noted that *aeri* is a form that does not readily work in at any point in a hexameter line.

tution would be easier with the reading *tenso* than with *denso*; for the more pronounced participial character of the former makes *tenso* . . . *aere* a better "ablative absolute" than *denso* . . . *aere* would be.

2.

ii. 198 ff.

Tot simul infesto iuvenes occumbere leto
Saepe fames pelagique furor subitaeque ruinae
Aut terrae caelique lues aut bellica clades,
Numquam poena fuit.

Thus Lucan comments on the wholesale massacre perpetrated by Sulla at Rome. In point of structure the sentence is very defective, though the general meaning is clear enough, namely, that major catastrophes on land or sea or in warfare had often taken a like terrible toll of life, but that a massacre of such proportions had never been ordered.

The opening phrases of the passage seem to lack an expression of causing or effecting, and some of the paraphrases inject such an idea and carry it through to the end. So Weise: "*Saepe fames aut aliud publicum malum aut bellum aliquod similes clades attulerat, numquam punitio.*" Likewise Duff: "The violent death of so many strong men at once has often been caused by famine, or stormy seas, or sudden crash of buildings . . . , but never before by execution."

The earlier commentators felt strongly the difficulty of the passage, and some attempts at emendation were made. To van Jever it seemed that *Saepe* (199) might be spared, and he conjectured *Culpa* to fill that space.⁷ On that basis, the passage would read as follows:

Tot simul infesto iuvenes occumbere leto
Culpa fames pelagique furor subitaeque ruinae
Aut terrae caelique lues aut bellica clades,
Numquam poena fuit.

This would rectify the grammatical structure of the sentence. But the evolution of *saepe* out of *culpa* as outlined by van Jever is rather complicated; and the effective balance of *saepe* and *numquam* (201) makes it plausible that *saepe* was written by the poet.

⁷ He mentions also *Causa* as a possibility, but regards *Culpa* as more poetic.

The problem was approached from a different angle by Burman, who with some hesitation proposed that *fuit* (201) perhaps should be emended to *dedit*. This, too, would help the situation much; but, again, it is not easy to explain a corruption of *dedit* to *fuit*.

Of late, interest in the passage seems to have waned. Hosius apparently is satisfied to allow the text to stand as it is; at any rate he does not notice the attempts at emendation; and Housman passes the lines without comment.

However, some feel so harsh a zeugma in *fuit* (201), and the sentence halts to such a degree, that some further attempt perhaps should be made to ease the situation.

Question therefore is raised whether *fuit* might not be a corruption of *tulit*. This would involve a minimum of change, and *tulit* yields a very fair sense. Compare the use of this verb in the following:

iv. 243 ff.

Itur in omne nefas, et quae fortuna deorum
Invidia caeca bellorum nocte *tulisset*,
Fecit monstra fides: inter mensasque torosque,
Quae modo complexu foeverunt, pectora caedunt.

After fraternizing with Caesar's troops, the Pompeians, at the order of Petreius, proceed to murder the Caesarians who were visiting their camp. The force of *tulisset* is well brought out in Duff's rendering: "and horrors, which, to the discredit of the gods, Fortune *might have brought about* in the blind obscurity of battle, are wrought by loyal obedience."

If *tulit* were to be read in the passage at the head of the present note, it would have this general sense, the infinitive construction serving as object:

Tot simul infesto iuvenes occumbere leto
Saepe fames pelagique furor subitaeque ruinae
Aut terrae caelique lues aut bellica clades,
Numquam poena tulit.

3.

iii. 592 ff.

Dirigit huc puppim miseri quoque dextra Telonis,
Qua nullam melius pelago turbante carinae
Audivere manum, nec lux est notior ulli
Crastina; seu Phoebum videat seu cornua lunae,
Semper venturis componere carbasa ventis.

There is some doubt as to the syntax of the infinitive *componere* in the last verse here cited.

A few of the commentators have suspected that *Semper* replaces an adjective that would govern the infinitive, e. g., *certus* or *sollers*.⁸ Such corruption of the text would not be easy to explain; and these suggestions have been received with little favor.

The usually accepted theory is that from the preceding lines a general idea of ability carries over, and it is to this that the infinitive attaches. Thus Oudendorp comments: "*Componere* valet ad componendum," and Weise explains: "*Ut infinitivum quare positus sit perspicias, cogita praecedentibus haec subesse: et quo nemo callidior fuit, ex coniectura futurae lucis semper ventis venturis carbasa componere, h. e. vela aptare.*"⁹

If this is the correct explanation, it must be confessed that Lucan is writing here in a very loose and obscure fashion.

It is suggested that with punctuation stronger than a comma after *Crastina* (595) a rather good case could be made out for *componere* as one of Lucan's occasional historical infinitives,¹⁰ the meaning being that whether Telo viewed the sun or the horns of the moon, he would infallibly adjust the sails to the winds that were coming.¹¹

As a matter of fact, there is a striking resemblance between this passage and the one in which the poet uses the historical infinitive in characterizing Caesar:

⁸ See van Jever and Burman *ad loc.* Cf. Bentley (*sollers*).

⁹ Cf. Haskins and Housman *ad loc.*, and also the translations of Duff and Bourguery.

¹⁰ Examination of the commentary shows that this idea is anticipated by Cortius (as reported by Weber); but his comment seems to have been overlooked or disregarded.

¹¹ It is not fully clear what nautical procedure is referred to in the phrase *componere carbasa*. The interpretation above accords with the general understanding of the words, which Duff renders: "to set his sails to the coming winds."

Possibly, however, the reference is to "making everything snug" in anticipation of a coming "blow." So of putting things in order at the end of a voyage, Plautus, *Merc.* 192: "*Armamentis complicandis componendis studuimus.*" With this meaning, an ablative interpretation of *venturis . . . ventis* would accord with Lucan's usage elsewhere.

i. 146 ff.

Acer et indomitus: quo spes quoque ira vocasset,
Ferre manum et nunquam temerando *parcere* ferro,
 Successus *urguere* suos, *instare* favori
 Numinis.

It may be noted further, that with the punctuation and interpretation proposed for the passage on which this note is based, the likeness between the two descriptions extends to the fact that the infinitive clause in each serves as a sort of expansion or exegesis of the phrase immediately preceding it.¹²

4.

iv. 811 ff.

At tibi nos, quando non proderit ista silere,
 A quibus omne aevi senium sua fama repellit,
 Digna damus, iuvenis, merita^e praeconia vitae.

Thus Lucan expresses himself as he rounds off the account of the disastrous campaign in Africa, in the closing action of which Curio lost his life. Though the poet is no great admirer of Curio, still he admits that his fame is secure, and that nothing will be gained by withholding here a suitable encomium. This is appended in verses 814-824.

The exact meaning of the last line cited above is not easy to determine. Some seem to find in *merita^e* a sort of echo of the opening word *Digna*. So Bourgery translates: "le digne hommage qu'a mérité ta vie"; and Haskins renders: "such a panegyric as thy life deserves."

Thinking that Lucan would be unwilling to praise all of Curio's life, Bentley proposed to emend *merita^e . . . vitae* to *primae . . . vitae*, which would exclude the years in which Curio's actions were most reprehensible. Perhaps this idea underlies Duff's translation of the received text: "we award a due meed of praise to the praiseworthy part of his life."

Eut, as Francken observes,¹³ this point of view does not seem to accord well with the general thought of the passage; for the antithesis in the poet's mind appears to be not so much between

¹² Francken comments: "Infinitivus est epexegeticus," but seems to apply the term in a very loose way. See his note *ad loc.*

¹³ In his note *ad loc.*

periods of time as between the great genius of Curio and the influences that perverted it (see lines 814-824).

The situation would be much simplified if we should regard *meritae* as a poetic use of the simplex for *emeritae*. So understood, the meaning is: "I insert here a proper tribute to your life now brought to its close."¹⁴ The expression *vita emerita*, of course, would be in line with *stipendia emerita*, *militia emerita*, etc.¹⁵

5.

vi. 196 ff.

Quid nunc, vesani, iaculis levibusque sagittis
Perditis haesuros numquam vitalibus ictus?
Hunc aut tortilibus vibrata phalarica nervis
Obruat aut vasti muralia pondera saxi;
200 Hunc aries ferro ballistaque limite torta
Promoveat. Stat non fragilis pro Caesare murus
Pompeiumque tenet.

These lines have to do with the miraculous resistance which Scaeva made single-handed at the time when Pompey tried to break out through the line of fortifications with which Caesar had surrounded him near Dyrrachium. The Pompeians are sarcastically criticised for attempting to overcome such a hero by the use of ordinary weapons.

The problem of the passage lies in verse 200, where from time immemorial the editors have accepted at the end the reading *limine portae*, which would be a separative expression with *Promoveat* (201), the idea being that Scaeva is to be dislodged from the threshold of the gate.

With this reading and interpretation there are two serious difficulties. In the first place, Scaeva was not standing at the threshold of a gate. It is stated explicitly that he fought from the rampart until the dead were piled up high before it, and that then he leaped far over the bodies and met the enemy on the level beyond (180 ff.), stubbornly holding his own there

¹⁴ Cf. the note of completion in the simplex in Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 36. 4: *missionem dari vicena stipendia meritis*.

¹⁵ An example with *stipendia* in a metaphorical sense is found in Cicero, *Cato M.* 49: *Tamquam emeritis stipendiis libidinis*, etc.

against them. Because of this inconsistency, Hosius breaks with the tradition and adopts the variant *limite torta* as cited above.¹⁶

The other point of difficulty is that the reading *limine portae* precludes any satisfactory handling of *ferro* earlier in the line. To save this situation, some have proposed emendation as a means of getting rid of *ferro*; so Heinsius conjectured *turri*, and Schrader *vallo*,—which would make provision for dislodging Scaeva from positions which he did *not* occupy.¹⁷

In view of these circumstances, it is interesting that Housman holds to the conventional reading *limine portae* and retains *ferro*, doubtless because of the strong manuscript support for these expressions.

Manifestly, he too would like to get rid of *ferro*; not only does he mention the conjecture of Schrader (*vallo*), but he also introduces the comment: "*sed ferro aptum non est, quoniam iacula quoque et sagittae ferrum habebant.*" This, of course, is quite beside the point; for in lines 196 ff. the Pompeians are criticised for using *light* weapons against Scaeva (*iaculis levibusque sagittis*), whereas a *heavy* battering-ram with head of iron¹⁸ is quite in place among the siege-engines enumerated in the text at this point.

His argument against *torta* at the end of the line is hardly more cogent. He says that the use of this word would be in poor taste so soon after *tortilibus* (198). But in Lucan such a collocation would not be noteworthy.¹⁹

¹⁶ See Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik, Nr. 147 (1893), 345. Burman retains the conventional reading and makes a half-hearted attempt to gloss over the inconsistency (he might have found some support for his argument in x. 545 ff.), and Cortius (as cited by Weber) essays the same task with more enthusiasm and confidence. Bourgery and Ponchont follow Hosius.

¹⁷ The sponsors of these emendations perhaps would reply that they were thinking of the removal of Scaevola from *any* position and not from the place he actually occupied at this point in the action. A further emendation of *bellistaque* to *ballistave* would be in harmony with this idea.

¹⁸ Cf. here Samse, Interpretationes Lucanae, Göttingen, 1905, p. 35. Duff (who translates Housman's text) ventures: "iron battering-ram," perhaps having in mind a gloss quoted by Oudendorp: "*aries ferro pro eo ferro factus*," a view which seems to have found little favor.

¹⁹ Note what Housman himself says on p. xxxiii of his preface concerning repetitions in Lucan, and compare such a sequence as *micuerunt . . . emicuit* (i. 530-532), which he does not question.

Though inferior in point of manuscript support, the reading *limite torta* not only harmonizes with *ferro*, but it is otherwise superior in sense. It is said that Scaeva stands as a wall²⁰ for Caesar; and *ballista* . . . *limite torta* rounds out the description of the means that would be required to dislodge him from his position—*phalarica*, *muralia saxa*, *cries* (with its iron head), and *ballista* (with projectile discharged from an elevated position).²¹

It may be noted also that if *limite torta* was the original reading, it is not hard to understand how it might have been changed to *limine portae*, which is a favorite verse-ending with the poets generally;²² but it is not so easy to see how the reverse change would come about.²³

6.

vii. 320 ff.

Sed dum tela micant, non vos pietatis imago
 Ulla nec adversa conspecti fronte parentes
 Commoveant; vultus gladio turbate verendos.
 Sive quis infesto cognata in pectora ferro
 Ibit, seu nullum violarit vulnere pignus,
 325 Ignoti ingulum tamquam scelus inputet hostis.

These verses are part of a speech ascribed to Caesar as he was about to lead his troops out to the battle of Pharsalus. Line 325 has been variously understood.

Postgate holds that verses 323-324 should be attached to what precedes.²⁴ The generally accepted punctuation is used above,

²⁰ *murus* (201). There seems some confusion here in the remarks of Hosius (*l. c.*) on the reading *limite*, which is a quite different matter. Samse (*l. c.*) notes this infelicity.

²¹ The poet's idea may be that the projectile would strike with greater force in a downward flight from an elevated position. To secure a more exact balance at this point, Oudendorp suggests reading *verbere* or *turtine* in place of *limite*.

²² Hosius (*l. c.*) mentions four examples: Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 242; Valerius Flaccus, vii. 382; Statius, *Theb.* xi. 339; xii. 558.

²³ It perhaps slightly supports the reading *torta* that Statius (*Theb.* ix. 145 ff.) uses the phrase *impacta* . . . *tormenta* in a similar passage in which he claims ineffectiveness of siege-engines against another hero.

²⁴ See his edition of Book VII, *ad loc.*

making 323-324 the protasis of 325. On this arrangement Housman makes the comment that 325 is properly the apodosis only of 324, it being left to the reader to "supply" a corresponding conclusion for 323. Hence he paraphrases: "If you strike a kinsman, count the crime a distinguished service; if one is no kinsman, count the deed a service no less distinguished than if it were a crime like the other."²⁵

In point of syntax such analysis is perhaps lawful; but on other grounds the interpretation is not very convincing, partly because it involves a very tame anticlimax. Caesar is here represented as trying to key up his soldiers to the sacrilege of slaying their relatives, and it would defeat his own end to add that the killing of any unknown enemy would do as well.

It may be worth while to compare what Caesar himself says of his address to the soldiers at the time here in question:

B. C. iii. 85. 4: Tunc Caesar apud suos, cum iam esset agmen in portis: "Differendum est," inquit, "iter in praesentia nobis et de proelio cogitandum, sicut semper depoposcimus. Animo sumus ad dimicandum parati; non facile occasionem postea reperiemus"; confestimque expeditas copias educit.

The haste here implied (which would be quite natural to the occasion) makes any long address to the soldiers quite out of keeping. The speech which Lucan devises is eighty lines long, and it evidently is a rhetorical study. At the same time, its agreement in some particulars with the account of Appian²⁶ renders it probable that there was a tradition of an address of Caesar's before Pharsalus more elaborate than his own account indicates.

Appian states that Caesar directed his soldiers to enter the battle with attention directed exclusively to the Roman foemen in Pompey's army, disregarding the foreign allies for the time being. Lucan says that the Caesarians were to press the fight as long as the enemy resisted (320), and that up to that point they were to concentrate upon their relatives in the opposing ranks. According to the tradition as reflected in Appian, verse 325 should refer to disregarding the "stranger foe" in the other army.

²⁵ *Classical Review*, 15 (1901), 405. The general idea here underlying was advanced by Grotius long before.

²⁶ ii. 74. See also the remarks of Postgate on Lucan, vii. 325.

On this basis, the sentence might be rendered: "Whether you assault with deadly blade a kinsman's breast, or whether you find no kinsman to slay, count it a crime to waste ²⁷ time in killing any of the common herd." One of the explanations recorded in the comment of Endt looks toward this interpretation; ²⁸ but the editors in general have worked off in other directions. ²⁹

It is nothing against the above interpretation that it represents Caesar as savage and brutal; for this is a character that Lucan delights to ascribe to him. Indeed, it looks like an intentional lurid touch that sends Caesar's soldiers against their own relatives, whereas Appian says merely that they were directed against the Romans in Pompey's line.

7.

viii. 335 ff.

- Quid, transfuga mundi,
Terrarum totos tractus caelumque perosus,
Aversosque polos alienaque sidera quaeris,
Chaldaeos culture focos et barbara sacra,
Parthorum famulus? Quid causa obtenditur armis
340 Libertatis amor? Miserum quid decipis orbem,
Si servire potes? Te, quem Romana regentem
Horruit auditu, quem captos ducere reges
Vidit ab Hyrcanis Indoque a litore silvis,
Deiectum fatis, humilem fractumque videbit
345 Extolletque animos Latium vesanus in orbem,
se simul et Romam Pompeio supplice mensus?
Nil animis fatisque tuis effabere dignum;
Exiget ignorans Latiae commercia linguae,
Ut lacrimis se, Magne, roges.

Lentulus thus inveighs against Pompey's proposal to appeal to the Parthians for support in the struggle against Caesar. In the received text here quoted there is a serious difficulty beginning with verse 341, for the reason that the following verbs

²⁷ In Appian's account (*l. c.*) Caesar is represented as most emphatically forbidding such dissipation of energy.

²⁸ See also the note of Bentley, *ad loc.*

²⁹ See the translation and note of Bourguery and Pönchont. Burman felt that emendation might be necessary. Haskins adopts the slightly attested *imputat* for *imputet*, construing *hostis* as the nominative form. Weise accepts *impetat*.

lack a subject. It is true that *Parthorum* precedes in 339; but, after two intervening sentences, it is extremely awkward to resume with a series of undefined singular verbs, the last of which (*exiget*, 348) can be understood only as referring to the king of the Parthians.

Most of the editors have nothing to say of the lack of a subject from 341 onward; but Francken and Housman give serious consideration to the matter. The former suspects that *auditu* (342) may be a corruption of the text concealing the subject of the sentence, e. g., *Arsacides*. He hesitates, however, to sponsor such a reading, because the change to *auditu* would be hard to explain. It should be added, also, that *auditu* could not well be spared from the sentence, because there seems to be a studied antithesis between it and *Vidit* (343).

Housman directs his attention to line 345, and for *Extolletque* he ingeniously conjectures *Rex tolletque*, which could be fitted into a not unreasonable interpretation of the passage.³⁰

It should not be forgotten, however, that though all the editions read *quem* in 341, there is also a variant *qui*, which seems even to be given the preference in the comment of Endt: "*qui vel quem*." Housman thinks that *qui* is an emendation designed to bring the sentence into more logical form,³¹ but there are other possibilities.

For example, if read aloud, *te qui* can be given the effect of *qui te*; or, better still, the original reading may have been *qui te*, corrupted to *te qui* by accidental transposition.

Given the reading *te qui* attested by Endt,³² it is easy to see how *qui* might have been changed to the accusative under the influence of *quem* of the following line, thus producing the text used in all the editions.

It should be noted, further, that the words *Quid causa . . . potes* (339-341) perhaps are parenthetic padding. Utilizing this idea and assuming *qui te* as the original reading in 341, the passage would exhibit the following structure:

³⁰ It probably would be captivous to hark back to the date indicated in line 341, and to ask whether one particular king of the Parthians would be referred to in all the connections down to 349.

³¹ See his note on line 345, and the critique of the same by E. Fraenkel, *Gnomon* II (1926), 511.

³² It is also a marginal reading in U.

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Chaldaeos culture focos et barbara sacra,
 Parthorum famulus? (Quid causa obtenditur armis
 340 Libertatis amor? Miserum quid decipis orbem,
 Si servire potes?) Qui te Romana regentem
 Horruit auditu, quem captos ducere reges
 Vidit, humilem fractumque videbit?⁸³

Picking up the thread after the parenthesis, *Qui* might well first be felt by the reader as representing *Parthus* (in the collective sense), with clear emergence of the idea of an individual Parthian (the king) when line 348 is reached.

For this there is an interesting parallel in vi. 106 ff., where the collective singular *hostis* is used of the Caesarians as a body; then, without any mark of change of subject, the application of the word is narrowed to a concrete reference to the leader himself; for *cernit* (110) surely refers to Caesar only,—and in contrast to his troops, whose sorry plight engages his attention.

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⁸³ This appears to be one of the interesting examples in which a parenthesis is inserted between phrases which together constitute a hexameter line. Putting together the first part of 339 and the latter part of 341, the result would be:

Parthorum famulus? Qui te Romana regentem

The same thing would hold, of course, with the reading *Te quem*. On this method of composition, see the University of California Publications in Classical Philology, 11, 298 ff.

THE UNITY OF CERTAIN ELEGIES OF PROPERTIUS.

Several elegies of Propertius have suffered from harsh treatment at the hands of the editors, who have divided them into A's, B's, and C's¹ often without making sufficient effort to understand the author's technique where he departs from the usual types. The narrative elegy and what may be called the elegy of mood certainly occur most frequently. In the latter a given theme or topic is developed with no change in the underlying circumstances, or at least no external change corresponding to the poet's variation of mood in the course of the elegy. There is, however, a third type in which incidents or emotions are presented dramatically and the elegy is treated as a monologue or carried on by successive scenes as a drama. Though in such cases the treatment is subjective, the poet reveals no more knowledge of the outcome than an actor, and the reader sometimes learns of incidents only by implication. The failure of the editors to take this type into account has led them to reduce all the elegies to the more common types.²

In the dramatic type the important feature is the poet's response to a change of situation which is implicit in the elegy. He writes as though he were participating in each incident as it occurs, not from a fixed point before or after the event. Fortunately there are examples of this technique in other poets where no one has suggested dividing the poem. From these cases it is possible to establish the principle of composition followed by Propertius. The poems describing ritual³ or processions natur-

¹ This division has led to the treatment of individual elegies as cycles. I, 7 and I, 9 are separated but there is no such clear case for the division of I, 8.

² S. G. Tremenheere, *The Elegies of Propertius* (1931), 441, on II, 28 (27), 47 furnishes a clear illustration of this attitude, "Lachmann was certainly right in making a new elegy commence here. The previous poem represents Cynthia at death's door. If she still were, how could Propertius have written the last line of this?"

³ Catullus 61 supplies an example of narrative use of the shifting point of view. See W. B. McDaniel, 2d, *Catullus* (1931), 108, "This one is, further, not strictly a marriage song, but rather a poetic narration of the events of the wedding ceremony as they are observed by the narrator, who is, of course, in *propria persona*, Catullus."

ally use a form of this technique. Tibullus II, 1 begins with Tibullus as the priest, instructing the worshippers, offering sacrifice, and praying. He next appears as the *magister bibendi* eulogizing Messalla. Finally he is the didactic poet, treating first of agriculture, then of love. The conclusion, with the approach of night, shows the passage of time⁴ and change of scene as additional dramatic elements. Tibullus II, 2 opens with sacrifice to the *Genius* to whom Cornutus is urged to address his prayers (9). At line 10 Tibullus, as priest, informs Cornutus that his *Genius* has shown that he is favorably disposed. The poet then expresses the prayer for Cornutus and at line 17 (*vota cadunt*) we learn that the wish is granted.

Catullus 8, furnishes an example free of the complications of ritual. The first 11 lines show the poet in self-communion. At line 12 the scene changes as he turns to Lesbia (in imagination) to inform her of the consequences of his deliberations. In the last line (19) he recalls himself somewhat reluctantly to the determination of line 11. Horace (*Odes* I, 27) supplies another example of this technique.⁵ In this dramatic monologue the word of the brother of Opuntian Megilla causes the change from merry raillery to mock concern. The crisis occurs in the middle of a line (18), and the reader must guess for himself from Horace's reaction what was said.

These examples are sufficient to indicate the existence of a subjective dramatic type in Roman poetry.⁶ Application of this principle of composition to the analysis of certain elegies of Propertius will, I think, demonstrate their artistic unity. Propertius I, 8 contains 46 lines. The first 26 are devoted to Propertius' fear that Cynthia will desert him and go to Illyria, and to his protestation of undying love for her even though deserted; the last 20 express his joyous affirmation that she is

⁴ Catullus 63 carefully accounts for the passage of time in the usual narrative manner.

⁵ See L. P. Wilkinson, Horace, Epode IX, *Classical Review*, XLVII (1933) 2-6, for an excellent treatment of another example.

⁶ The absence of sufficient Alexandrian elegy is fatal to any attempt to give a final answer to the origin of the type, though three epigrams of Meleager show dramatic treatment. In V, 176, Stadtmueller, *Anthologia Graeca*, I (1894), Love, lost in the beginning of the poem, is found hiding in Zenophila's eyes. V, 177, a "baby" for sale, and V, 181, a message for Dorcas, are both dramatic monologues.

now and always will remain his. Following Lipsius most modern editors⁷ have begun a new elegy at line 27.⁸ If, however, we recognize a dramatic technique, the structure of the elegy is clear. Propertius has chosen to place himself within the limits of the elegy as an actor in a drama, and the reader is kept in suspense until the action reaches its climax. In the first 22 lines the poet addresses Cynthia in the second person, as if she were present, and in preparation for the last 20 lines he modulates to the third person by quoting himself (24-26). Without interpreting too literally we may say that news of Cynthia's faithfulness reaches him, and the song of triumph comes much more naturally without the complication of direct address to Cynthia, the subject of it. The fact that the shift of person is made in the lines regularly attached to the first part is further reason to consider the elegy a unit.

I, 15, a complaint on Cynthia's faithlessness, is occasionally divided at 25.⁹ Richmond's comment,¹⁰ *unum distichon iam ante uncialem excidisse censeo, in quo verborum Cynthiae et blanditiarum fuerit mentio*, is indicative of failure to realize that in Propertius' dramatized treatment such *mentio* is often implicit and not to be accounted for by assuming a *lacuna*. This elegy also is a dramatic monologue in which an imagined gesture of expostulation is sufficient to change the poet's line of thought.

In II, 24 the poet seeks to clarify the overtones of his relationship with Cynthia. In response to the question of an unnamed interlocutor, he admits his promisee and seeks to explain

⁷ J. P. Postgate, *Select Elegies of Propertius* (1895); H. E. Butler, *Sexti Properti Opera Omnia* (1935); K. P. Harrington, *The Roman Elegiac Poets* (1914); Max Rothstein, *Die Elegien des Sextus Propertius* (1920); O. L. Richmond, *Propertius* (1928). J. S. Phillimore, *Sexti Properti Carmina* (1901), prints the elegy as one, though his translation (1906) shows the usual division. M. Ites, *De Properti Elegiis inter se conexis* (1908), notes the connection but leaves the division into parts. C. Hosius, *Ser. Propertii elegiarum Libri IV* (1922, 3rd ed. 1932) prints the elegy with a space intervening. He is followed by Tremenheere, *op. cit.*, who remarks, 337, "At this point either a new elegy or a supplement to the preceding lines begins."

⁸ *erat*, AFN, is the better reading and more consistent with my interpretation though *erit*, DV, can be read.

⁹ E. g. Ribbeck, Rothstein.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, 122, post v. 30 (his numbering).

that however famous his book, *Cynthia*, is, he has suffered great wrongs from her treatment of him. The thought that she is entirely to blame leads him to imagine her present and he launches into reproaches for her fickleness and then contrasts his own undying love (whatever his actions may seem to indicate). The interlocutor, a protactic character, disappears at line 16, and the remainder of the elegy is entirely addressed to Cynthia.

II, 28 presents a more complex problem. In the *Mss.* (with the exception of N and Memmianus which begin a new elegy at line 35) it appears as one elegy. With the exception of Harrington²¹ who prints it as one elegy though he fails to perceive the technique, the editors make two or three elegies. Before we proceed to a detailed analysis a brief summary may be useful:

Jupiter, pity my darling though her blasphemy caused her sickness. At the last, fate is often kinder; witness Io, Ino, Andromeda, and Callisto. In death, my darling, you will be among the famous. Repentance can influence even Juno. Though all the omens are unfavorable, spare her for my sake; we will repay you, Jove. Persephone, spare her longer; you already possess Iope, Tyro, Europa, and Pasiphae. Soon enough she will be yours. My darling, you are saved. Pay your vows to Diana, to Isis, and to me.

The reader is kept in suspense as Propertius follows the course of the disease. The presentation is dramatic, enabling the poet to show the earlier stages of the disease with the vividness of present misfortune. Three passages give the framework. The illness is announced (1-4), the crisis is implicit in the prayer (41-46), recovery is indicated (59-62). The shifting modes of address are due to the changes of scene as Propertius imagines himself before the altars of the various gods or at the bedside of his sick mistress. The omens (35-38) are the culmination of the successive signs of increasing peril; *affectae puellae* (1), *extremo die* (16), *sepulturae tuae* (26). Correspondingly there is a descending series after the prayer; *maneant clementia* (47), . . . *es . . . magno dimissa periculo* (59). The dramatization is subjective, and is presented as a sort of monologue, but the

²¹ *Op. cit.* 263, l. 59; "If this elegy was written after Cynthia's recovery, this verse represents the actual condition of things at the time of composition; if it was penned during the progress of the disease, it expresses a more or less well-grounded faith that his prayers are heard."

reader is a spectator and is so treated by the poet as in the mime.¹²

If this is the poet's method and the *Mss.* for the most part contain these elegies in their proper form, the probability of serious dislocation is lessened and one may, without being reactionary urge more conservative treatment of the *Mss.* tradition and greater respect for it.

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¹² Theocritus 15 and Herodas 5 are good examples of the objective use of this technique in a literary form which influenced the elegists. See Nairn, *The Mimes of Herodas* (1904), xl-xli.

A NOTE ON CATO, *DE AGRI CULTURA*, LVI.

[Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XVIII. 66-68 affords proof that the bread allowance to the *conpediti*, in Cato's *De Agri Cultura*, LVI, was made at a rate per day.]

The text of chapter LVI of Cato's *De Agri Cultura* runs as follows:

Familiae cibaria. qui opus facient per hiemem tritici modios IIII, per aestatem modios IIII S, vilico, vilicae, epistatae, opilioni modios III, conpeditis per hiemem panis P. IIII, ubi vineam fodere coeperint, panis P. V, usque adeo dum ficos esse coeperint, deinde ad P. IIII redito.¹

From several sources we are able to determine that the allowances of three, four, or four and one-half *modii* were made by the month.² But Cato is somewhat obscure in his statement of the food allowance for the *conpediti*. He says they are to receive four pounds of bread during the winter, and five pounds during the part of the season when they would be most active. He does not vouchsafe any information concerning how often the *conpediti* would receive this ration. There is a passage in the elder Pliny,³ however, upon the basis of which it becomes clear that these slaves of Cato were given their bread at the rate of four or five pounds per day.⁴

Pliny in this passage discourses upon the different kinds of wheat, their quality and appearance. In section 66 he describes the wheat which comes to Rome from the various provinces and

¹ This is the text of H. Keil, *M. Porci Catonis De Agri Cultura Liber* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1884). G. Goetz in his more recent edition (Leipzig, Teubner, 1922) has not altered the text of Keil.

² *E. g.*, Polybius, VI. 39. 12-15; Donatus, note on Terence, *Phormio*, 43. Sallust, *Historiae*, III. 48. 19 and Seneca, *Epistulae*, LXXX. 7 should be mentioned though they do not state specifically that the quantity of grain represents a monthly allowance.

³ *Naturalis Historia*, XVIII. 66-68.

⁴ I am indebted to Professor Tenney Frank for calling my attention to G. Curcio, *La Primitiva Civiltà Latini Agricola e il Libro dell' Agricoltura di M. Porcio Catone* (Firenze, 1929) p. 48. Here the author states that the ration for the *conpediti* was calculated by the day, but he offers no demonstration for his conclusion. Furthermore, he says that one *modius* of grain weighs 8.75 pounds, a statement which is, of course, controverted by the passage in Pliny.

in connection with each kind he tells how much the wheat weighs per *modius*. In section 67 he makes this statement: *Lex certe naturae ut in quocumque genere panis militari tertia portio ad grani pondus accedat, sicut optimum frumentum esse quod in subactu congium aquae capiat*. From Pliny's figures concerning the weight of the various kinds of wheat and his so-called *lex naturae*, viz., that *panis militaris* weighs a third more than the wheat from which it is made, we may arrive at the following table:⁵

Region where grain was grown	per <i>modius</i> . in pounds Weight	from 1 <i>modius</i> of grain <i>panis militaris</i> made Weight in pounds of
Gaul	20	26.67 —
Chersonnesus	20	26.67 —
Sardinia	20.5	27.33 +
Alexandria	20.8 +	27.73 +
Sicily	20.8 +	27.73 +
Boeotia	21.8 +	29.07 —
Africa	22.6 —	30.13 +
<i>Transpadana Italia</i> *	25	33.33 +
(<i>Italia</i>) <i>circa Clusium</i>	26	34.67 —

Returning to our passage in Cato we may calculate that one of the *conpediti* would receive 120 pounds of bread in a thirty day month at 4 pounds a day. Upon the basis of the figure in our

* We should note in this connection the second part of Pliny's statement. When he says *sicut optimum . . . congium aquae capiat*, it is reasonable to assume that he means that the grain takes up one *congius* of water per *modius*. A *congius* of water, according to Hultsch (P-W, R-E, s. v.) weighed ten Roman pounds. If we should add ten pounds to each of the grain weights in the table, we would have resultant weights somewhat in excess of those given in the right hand column. However, we must remember that Pliny limits this rate of absorption to the "best grain." Furthermore these resultant weights would apply only to the dough before baking. Of course, in the process of baking the weight would decrease to a certain extent. Hence we can be safe in saying that in the whole passage which we have quoted from Pliny there are no essentially contradictory elements. All of Pliny's figures have been included in the table, though of the imported grains, only those from Sicily and Sardinia, so far as we know, were brought to Italy in Cato's day.

* Pliny's figures for *transpadana Italia* and (*Italia*) *circa Clusium* are for *far*. The remaining figures are for *tritium*.

table, 3.46 + *modii* of grain would be necessary to make the 120 pounds of bread, if the grain used were the *far* grown in the neighborhood of Clusium. If the *conpeditus* were being rationed at the rate of 5 pounds of bread per day, there would be need of 4.33 — *modii* of the *far*. With regard to the seven other types of grain which Pliny says were imported, we can calculate that the average weight per *modius* of the seven is 20.93 pounds. The average weight of the bread made from such a *modius* would be 27.9 — pounds. If this bread were used, each *conpeditus* would consume 4.3 — *modii* per month on the 4 pounds a day ration, and 5.34 — *modii* on the 5 pounds a day ration.

Our figures then indicate that the amount of grain necessary to feed each *conpeditus* ranges between 3.46 — *modii* a month to 5.34 — *modii*, the variation depending, of course, upon the type of grain used and the rate of rationing. The fact that these figures correspond closely to those of Cato in his allotment of grain to the other members of his farm staff proves conclusively that the figures dealing with the bread allotment to the *conpediti* are to be understood as rates per day.

One may draw legitimately a further conclusion. We see that Cato divides his farm staff into three groups. Besides the *conpediti*, we have those whom Cato designates as *qui opus facient*. Their grain allotment is four *modii* per month in winter, and four and one-half in summer. The third group consists of the *vilicus*, *vilica*, *epistates*, and *opilio*, who receive but three *modii* per month. Our calculations based on the heavier *far* grown in the vicinity of Clusium revealed a need of 3.46 — *modii* and 4.33 — *modii* per month per *conpeditus*. Since these figures correspond more closely to the amounts allotted to the other farm workers than do those calculated on the basis of the lighter imported grain, one may conclude that Cato planned to have the bread for his *conpediti* made from heavier, and perhaps home-grown, grain.⁷

⁷ The fact that Cato in his next chapter, *De Agri Cultura*, LVII, allows the *conpediti* more wine than he does the others, in all probability only indicates that these slaves subsisted almost entirely on their allotments of bread and wine. One may be reasonably sure that Cato's rations were sufficient to keep his laborers in good working condition, and not much more. Our conclusion that the heavier grain was used, of course, does not imply that the *conpediti* would thus get more to eat,

Two further points remain. One is undoubtedly struck by the enormous quantity of bread that these chain-gang slaves must have consumed. However, this does not seem so strange when we remember that the slaves had very little else to eat, and that the bread was largely unleavened. Thus a pound of Roman bread would be far smaller by volume than a similar weight of modern yeast-leavened bread. And finally, it is perfectly apparent why Cato gave his *conpediti* bread ready-made while his other laborers received the grain. It is, of course, because the *conpediti*, as their name indicates, were chain-gang slaves, and had neither the equipment nor the opportunity to convert grain into bread.⁸

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but only that it would take a smaller quantity of grain to provide the same weight of bread.

⁸ Pedro Chacon, *Opuscula* (Rome, Vatican, 1608), p. 101, employed the passage in Pliny to interpret chapter LVI of the *De Agri Cultura* of Cato. His treatment, however, is brief and inaccurate.

ENGLISH *strawberry*.

Although seeds of the wild strawberry (*Fragaria vesca*) have been found in the remains of the neolithic lake-dwellings in Switzerland, there is no linguistic evidence that it was ever seen or tasted in prehistoric Indo-European times. Apparently the ancient Greeks did not know it, nor the Hindus. The earliest record is Latin *fraga* 'strawberries' (Vergil); *fragum*, as the plant, appears in Late Latin. The Latin word is probably connected with *fragrare* 'to be fragrant', or possibly with Greek *rhâx*, *rhagós*, 'grape, berry', and in either or any case shows no background in the sense of strawberry. The Romanic words are from the Latin: French *fraise* (Spanish *fresa*), Rumanian *fragă*, Italian *fraga*, etc. In Balto-Slavic the terminology is varied, but it consists for the most part of specific applications of words for berry, fruit: Old Bulgarian (*j*)*agoda* 'fruit', later 'strawberry', Slovenian *jagoda* 'berry, strawberry', Serbo-Croatian *jagoda* 'strawberry', Polish *jagoda* 'berry', Czech *jáhoda* 'strawberry', Russian *yagoda* 'berry'. Or descriptive names are given based on the fact that the strawberry, unlike ordinary berries, grows close to the earth: Polish *poziomka* 'strawberry' (cf. *poziomy* 'level, horizontal'); Lithuanian *žemuogė* 'strawberry', literally, 'earth-berry', Russian *zemlyanika*.

Likewise in Germanic the strawberry is named as the earth-berry: Old High German *erdberi*, German *erdbeere*, Dutch *aarbezie*, Danish *jordbær*, Anglo-Saxon *eorthberige* (which did not survive in English). English *strawberry* stands alone and has no parallels in other languages. On its face a compound of *straw* and *berry*, the reason for the name is far from obvious, and many speculations have been advanced to explain it. Kluge (*IF.*, IV. 309) attempted to cut the knot by cognating Anglo-Saxon *strēaw-* in *strēawberige* with Latin *fragum* and Greek *rhâx*, *rhagós*, but for various and cogent reasons this suggestion has won, and deserved, small measure of acceptance (although thought worthy of consideration by Kluge-Lutz, Walde, Wyld, and others), and it need not be further discussed here. Skeat (*Etymological Dictionary*) derives *strawberry* from *straw* 'a stalk of corn when thrashed', but in his phrase "from its propa-

gation (or strewing) by runners" seems to imply association with the closely allied *strew*, dialectic *straw*, 'to scatter', and in his *Concise Etymological Dictionary* Skeat specifically refers to *strew*: "perhaps from its propagation by runners; cf. *strew*." But the Anglo-Saxon forms of *strawberry* are clearly those of the noun *straw*, and not those of the verb *strew*, and still less those of the variant verb *strow*. And a compound in the sense of 'scatterberry' is improbable both as to formation and as to the facts.

Most frequently, however, the suggestion is made that the strawberry may have been named from its strawlike runners (*NED.*, alternatively; *Pocket Oxford Dictionary*, exclusively and positively; Webster's *New International*; *Century*; Wyld, *Universal English Dictionary*), sometimes with reference to the "straw" of other plants than the cereals, such as pease or buckwheat. But this is a transferred meaning of *straw* and it does not appear until centuries after the strawberry was named. And only the exigencies of etymological interpretation could ever have suggested any similarity between straw and strawberry runners: the green, long and slender, prostrate, vinelike (cf. the common *strawberry vines* for *strawberry plants*), non-tubular branches or shoots (sarmen^{ta} or stolons), from which new plants develop. Another theory (*NED.*, Weekley) would derive *strawberry* from *straw* in the sense of 'small particle, chaff, mote', with reference to the tiny seedlike achenes or carpels which are scattered over the surface of the so-called berry or fruit. But such a name would seem strangely minute and un-descriptive, and generally unlikely.

It seems probable that most English-speaking persons assume connection between the word *strawberry* and the straw that is used to keep the cultivated berries off the ground or to cover the plants as a protection in winter, and this rationalization of the word has been given serious consideration by philologists (Wyld and others; less serious, *Century*). It is sufficient to say that the strawberry was so named in the tenth century or earlier; that no berry was cultivated in northern Europe until after the Middle Ages; and that the culture of the strawberry apparently began about the end of the 16th century.

There remains only mention of the idea that the name *strawberry* may allude to an old habit of stringing the berries on a

straw (*Century*), and the assumption that it is a corruption of an assumed *strayberry* (*Century*, adversely). Some English dictionaries (*Standard*, *Winston*) avoid trouble by deriving, without explanation, from *straw* plus *berry*. None of these many analyses of the word *strawberry* could have seemed entirely satisfactory even to their authors, and they could be fairly summed up at present by some such etymology as: From Anglo-Saxon *strēawberige*, apparently from *strēaw* straw and *berige*, *berie*, berry, grape, but why so named is not known.

As we have seen, the linguistic evidence is all in favor of the noun *straw* as the first element of the compound, and of *berry* as the second. The forms in Anglo-Saxon are *strēawberige*, *strēaberige*, *strēowberige*, *strēuberige*; the earliest forms are *strēaw*- and *strēa*-; and the earliest date is about 1000 A. D. In the same period appears our word *straw* with the forms *strēaw*, *strēdw*, *strēw*, but with the meaning of hay or grass. Aelfric translates Latin *foenum* (*faenum*) 'hay' by Anglo-Saxon *gærs* or *strēow*, and again by *strēw* (*strēow*, *strēaw*) alone. In other passages it is impossible to say whether hay or straw is meant, but at least the meaning 'hay' is perfectly established for Anglo-Saxon *strēaw*, and it seems clear that to Aelfric the word *strawberry* must have meant *hayberry*.

Now the berry that Aelfric knew was the wild strawberry (*Fragaria vesca*), and the wild strawberry grows chiefly in grassy places and in hay fields. It ripens at the time of the hay harvest, and the red berries are very frequently found in the stubble under the mown hay. The strawberry is still associated with the raking and the making of the hay in the experience of many a farmer and in the memories of many a farmer's boy, according to abundant testimony. It seems extremely probable that the strawberry received its name in much the same way as the harvest-apple, only more directly, for the strawberry not only ripened at the haying, but actually grew in or under the hay.

Finally, lest there be doubt whether the Anglo-Saxons cut grass and made hay (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*¹⁴, s. v. *hay*, says, with special reference to Great Britain, that haymaking was unknown in ancient times), cf. Anglo-Saxon *hæg*, *hæg*, 'hay', Old High German *hewi*, Old Norse *hey*, Gothic *hawī*, and the cognate Anglo-Saxon *hēarvan* 'to cut', English *hew*; also Anglo-Saxon (trans., c. 900 A. D., of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*,

c. 700 A. D.): *Thær* [in Ireland, as contrasted with Britain] *nānig mann for wintres cýle on sumera hæg ne mǣweth: nemo propter hiemem foena secet aestate.*

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THE BASILICA ARGENTARIA.

One of the most interesting discoveries that has recently been made in Rome, in connection with the excavation of the Forum of Julius Caesar, is the ascending road between the Capitol and the Comitium, which is known as the *clivus argentarius*. Close to it have been discovered the remains of a building which probably dates from the time of Domitian.¹ This has been tentatively identified as the *basilica argentaria*, a structure mentioned only in the Regionary Catalogues. Although there is no documentary evidence for the application of the adjective *argentarius* to the *clivus* earlier than the Middle Ages, it seems likely that the street was so designated in the time of the Roman Empire,² and that it took its name from the building adjacent to it. What activities, then, may we assume were housed in this basilica?

Among the Romans the adjective *argentarius* was used in two senses (1) referring to the use of silver as a metal—hence, *argentarii*, “silversmiths”, as in the *arcus argentariorum*, applied to the well-known arch of Septimius Severus in the Forum Boarium; (2) in a derived sense, like the French *argent* meaning “money”, e. g. *mensa argentaria*, “a money-changer’s counter.” It is this second usage that is most frequently cited from Latin authors, and this is the meaning that the eminent Italian archaeologist, Corrado Ricci, believes must be understood in the case of the basilica. In describing the excavations of the Forum of Julius Caesar, Ricci refers to the mention of the *basilica argentaria* in the Regionary Catalogues and says that we must not believe in this instance that the adjective refers to the silversmiths who plied their trade and had their headquarters here, but to the *argentarii* who were money-changers and bankers.³

¹ Corrado Ricci, “Il foro di Giulio Cesare,” *Capitolium* VIII (1932), 385.

² Platner and Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), p. 122.

³ Ricci, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

There are indications, however, that this statement is open to question.

Granted that the word *argentarius* may refer to bankers as well as to silversmiths, let us consider the noun to which it is attached, in hopes that we may get further light upon it in this case. A Roman basilica has been defined as "a very common type of building erected for business purposes and also for the accommodation of the courts."⁴ We are told that bankers and money-changers had their headquarters in the Basilica Julia in the Forum,⁵ and the probable situation of the *Janus medius* near the Basilica Aemilia connects that building with money-lenders and speculators.⁶ Thus it is natural to associate the idea of banking and money with the activities of a basilica, a fact which may lead to a misinterpretation of the adjective under discussion.

It has already been observed⁷ that while the *basilica argentaria* appears in the text of the Regionary Catalogues, this building is not mentioned in the Appendix to the same document, though *basilica vascellaria*, a building not included in the text, does occur there. This fact leads to the obvious conclusion that these buildings were identical. If this is true, there is no doubt that the building was used for the sale of small objects of bronze and silver. Inscriptional evidence shows that *vascularius* and *argentarius* are often applied to the same man, along with such words as *caelator* and *excusor*,⁸ in all of which cases it must refer to an artisan rather than to a banker. One significant inscription reads *de basilica vascula(ri)a aurari(o) et argentario*.⁹ This seems to mean "to the gold and silver dealer from the basilica vascularia". Thus it appears that the substitution of *vascellaria* for *argentaria* by the compiler of the Regionary Catalogues would be most natural.

Furthermore in the Regionary Catalogues we have mention of

⁴ Platner and Ashby, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

⁵ C. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum* (Rome: Loescher and Co., 1909), p. 61.

⁶ Platner and Ashby, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-76.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁸ *C. I. L.* VI, 4328; II, 3749; XIII, 1948.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XI, 3821. The editors of the *Corpus* believe that this refers to the *basilicam urbanam quae fuit in regione octava, dicta in indice regionis ipsius argentaria, in appendice vascularia*.

a *basilica floscellaria*,¹⁰ where apparently flowers and fruit were sold, and of a *basilica vestilia*,¹¹ which must have been a clothing emporium. Since banking was a normal function of the basilicas in the Forum, it seems less likely that *argentaria* in this sense would be applied to a building which was used strictly for financial dealings than to one which offered small objects for sale. We may notice too a comment of Acron on Horace¹² where one of the Janus statues (or arches) is said to be *post basilicam Pauli ubi vasa aenea venum dabantur*. Perhaps this place of business near the Basilica Aemilia was later installed in a large and impressive building that gave its name to the *clivus* adjoining it. At any rate, the evidence seems to show that the *basilica argentaria* of the eighth region, whether or not it is to be identified with the building which has just been uncovered, was the headquarters for dealers in small metal objects, rather than the center of the banking activities of that part of the city.

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LAT. *nītēre* — *renīdēre* — *nīdor*.

Lat. *nītēre* wird gewöhnlich zu einer Wurzel **nei* gestellt, die in mir. *niam* 'Glanz, glänzender Schmuck', mir. *niamde* 'glänzend', cymr. *nwyf* 'Lebhaftigkeit' etc. enthalten ist. Die zu *nītēre* gehörigen Bildungen sind *nitor*, *nītēla*, *nitidus*, *nitidāre*, *nitēscere* (*inter-*, *prae-*, *per-*, *re-*). Es läge demnach eine *t*-Bildung aus der Schwundstufe der Wurzel vor, etwa wie in *lātēre* neben gr. *λανθάνω*, *λάθω*.

Wie steht es mit *renīdēre*? Der Bedeutung wegen kann man es von *nītēre* nicht gut trennen. Wenn die beiden Wörter nicht die Verschiedenheit in der Quantität des *i* aufweisen würden, so stünde einer Zusammenstellung nichts im Wege. Nun liesse sich durch Annahme eines Langdiphthongen mit sekundärer

¹⁰ Platner and Ashby, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

¹² *Ep.* I. 1. 53-54.

¹ Vgl. Walde-Pokorny II 321 und die dort angegebene Literatur. Meillet-Ernout, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, 1932, S. 646 zieht diese Etymologie in Zweifel: Irl. *niam* "éclat" ferait penser à une racine **nei*- "briller" . . . Hypothèse incertaine. •

Kürzung in *nĭtĕre* (für die allerdings kein Grund angegeben werden könnte), diese Schwierigkeit aus dem Wege räumen. Eine Lösung, die von dem in *nĭtĕre* vorliegenden kurzen *i* ausgeht, ist jedoch der hypothetischen Heranziehung eines Langdiphthongen vorzuziehen. Und eine solche gibt es.

Zur Erklärung von *rerĭdĕre* geht man aus von einem Adjektiv **nĭāus*. Diese Adjektiva haben gewöhnlich die Endung *-idus*; zwischen der meist schwundstufigen Wurzel und dem *d* erscheint noch ein Element *i*. **nĭdus* ist also aus *nĭ* + *idus* entstanden. Es liegt in *-nĭdĕre* eine Bildung vor, die sich etwa einem *audĕre* zu *avidus* oder *ardĕre* zu *aridus* vergleicht.

Darf *nĭdor* hierhergestellt werden? Zuerst die Bedeutung: 'Dampf, Geruch, Qualm'; 'fumet, odeur, qui s'échappe d'un objet qui luit ou qui brûle'. Diese Bedeutung liegt nicht weit ab von **nĭdus* 'leuchtend'; sie kann sich leicht aus **nĭdus*, (*-nĭdĕre*) entwickelt haben. Von Seiten der Form stellen sich einer Zusammenstellung von *nĭdor* und *-nĭdĕre* kein Bedenken entgegen. *nĭdor*, *nĭdōris*, m., gehört zu einem Verb der zweiten Klasse, und zwar zu den Zustandeverben, den Neutropassiven: *nĭdor*²: *-nĭdĕre* = *tepor*: *tepĕre*. *nĭdor* ist demnach eine Bildung, die etwa mit *ardor* und weiterhin mit *caldor* und *frigdor* zu vergleichen ist.

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AN EMENDATION OF *octius* IN CIC. *ad Att.* 12, 46, 1.

In the spring of 45 E. C., after the death of Tullia, Cicero remained in solitude at Astura most of two months. Despite constant urging from his friends and a desire to make progress with his essays in his own library, he could not then bring himself to return to his Tusculan villa where Tullia had died. Finally about the middle of May (*ad Att.* 12, 46, 1) he determined to set out, saying *vincam, opinor, animum et Lanuvio pergā in Tusculanum*. He continues: "I shall either have to give up that villa permanently (for my sorrow will remain the same, *tantum modo* † *octius*) or it will matter little whether I go there now or ten years from now."

² Es handelt sich hier keineswegs um *s*-Stämme, wie gewöhnlich behauptet wird, sondern um *r*-Bildungen (Schulze). Lat. *d* ist wohl idg. *dh*, wie an anderer Stelle ausgeführt wird.

Sjögren's new edition of these letters accepts Schmidt's emendation of *octius* to *occultius*. Manitius suggested *mediocrius*, Lambinus *modestius* — et alii alia. But these suggestions all seem to miss the point. Cicero says explicitly that the grief will not diminish and that it will be no easier ten years off. What is desired is a word that will suggest the same idea as *vivam*. He means that, though the suffering will not diminish, he must master himself and subject his grief to control. I suggest that *octius* is a medieval transcription of the Greek *ὀστέος*, the verbal of *ὀθέω*, and what he meant was: "My grief will remain the same, but it must be kept in subjection, so that I can proceed with my work." It will be remembered that in his epistles Cicero shows fondness for this Greek verbal. Examples are: *πόρον κλεπτέον* (*Att.* 10, 12, 2); *φαινοπροσωπητέον* and *ιτέον* (*Att.* 14, 22, 2), and *φιλοσοφητέον* . . . et istos consulatus non flocci faciteon (*Att.* 1, 16, 13). We also recall that the scribes were apt to change sigma to c; as in *Att.* 2, 17, 2, where *πτῶσις* became *phocis*.

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REPORTS.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM, LXXIX (1930).

Pp. 1-6. Th. Birt, Zur Tachygraphie der Griechen. Did the Greeks before the time of Tiro employ systems of shorthand? Birt makes use of Varro (quoted in Servius on *Aen.* 3, 444 and 6, 74) and of Suidas (s. v. Σίβυλλα Χαλδαία) to defend the probability of the existence of such systems in early Alexandrian times, and the possibility of their use as early as Plato and Thucydides.

Pp. 7-34. Dietrich Müllder, Götteranrufungen in Ilias und Odyssee. Continuation of *Rh. Mus.* 78 (1929), 35-53. Many of these passages, according to Müllder, show signs of being traditional material taken over by the poet from other sources and incorporated, with a greater or less degree of appropriateness, in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. It is this lack of appropriateness that betrays many of them.

Pp. 35-43. Leo Weber, Φρυνίχου Ἀλκίστis. An attempt to restore the outline of the plot of Phrynichus' *Alcestis* and to compare it with the *Alcestis* of Euripides.

Pp. 44-54. Andreas Kocevalov. Einige Beiträge zur griechischen Syntax. 1. *Adiectivum pro adverbio* in Theocritus and Pindar. 2. The position of the article with names of rivers. 3. Unreal futures. 4. The free use of the nominative with infinitive.

Pp. 55-64. Rudolf Zimmermann, Die Quellen Plutarchs in der Biographie des Marcellus. An examination of the relation of Plutarch to his sources, particularly Livy and Valerius Maximus. Livy was Plutarch's principal source for this biography, and he used him directly, although he sometimes quotes him inexactly, due to his relying on his memory. Plutarch worked over his authorities carefully before composition, but does not seem to have had them before him as he wrote. Z. believes that Juba wrote no Roman History. The Ῥωμ. ἀρχαιολογία mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium is really the ὁμοιότητες of Juba, and this work was of an antiquarian nature.

Pp. 65-92. Erich Reitzenstein, Zur Erklärung der Catalepton-Gedichte. Notes, partly textual, for the greater part interpretative, on the first five poems of the *Catalepton* collection.

Pp. 93-101. Rudolf Zimmermann, Zum Geschichtswerk des Florus. A discussion of the present arrangement of Florus' work and its original plan.

Pp. 102-112. MISZELLEN.

Pp. 102-103. Carl Fries, Etyma. Etymologies of *Syracusae*, *Lilybaeum*, *Cannae*, *haruspex*, ἦπαρ, τέρας, μηχανή, χιτών.

Pp. 103-106. Eduard Schwyzer, 'Ηγησίλαος und ἀγεσίλαος [cf. *Rh. Mus.* 78 (1929), 216]. Discussion of the correct Attic form of the name.

Pp. 106-110. Heinrich Lewy, Zu Hesychios. Notes on δεσπότην κεκαρμένοι; Σιγώρ; μισσηγή; ἀκάμαλα; δαβούλ.

Pp. 111-112. C. Fries, *De Tarpeiae fabula* [cf. *Rh. Mus.* 78 (1929), 249 ff.]. Fries suggests that the "anuli aurei" of the Tarpeia story had, in the original legend, some connection with the phases of the moon.

P. 112. U. Hoefcr, Berichtigung zu *Rh. Mus.* 77 (1928), 144, Anm. 1.

Pp. 113-122. Joh. Theopḥ. Kakridis, Die Niobesage bei Homer. Zur Geschichte des griechischen Παράδειγμα. The story of Niobe as told by Homer (*Iliad* 24, 599-620) does not represent the older, original form of the legend, since (with verses 614-617 omitted, which K. regards as a later interpolation), the periraffaction of Niobe is not mentioned. Homer alters the story to suit his purpose here. He wishes, in particular, to draw two parallels. As Niobe, in spite of her sorrow, partook of food, so now must Priam. As the children of Niobe lay unburied for ten days before the gods had pity on them, so will Achilles, after twelve days of cruelty, show mercy to the body of Hector. The suggested struggle between the sorrow of the stricken heart of a Priam or a Niobe and the demands of the flesh is not unworthy of the poet of Ω.

Pp. 123-152. Emanuel Loew, Heraklit von Ephesus, der Entdecker des empirisch-physikalischen Weges der Forschung. Loew interprets the fragments in the light of his belief that Heraclitus is "der Begründer der griechischen Aufklärung-philosophie", the discoverer of physical empiricism.

Pp. 153-169. Otto Immisch, Babriana. A critical examination of ms. A in the light of papyri to determine its value. A is not so trustworthy as has been hitherto believed.

Pp. 170-177. Walther Schwahn, Gehalts- und Lohnzahlung in Athen. A consideration of the payments to workmen mentioned in the two Eleusinian building accounts, IG. II² 1672 and IG. II² 1673.

Pp. 178-182. Walther Schwahn, Die Stärke der Bule bei den Achaëern. Discussion of the proposal of Eumenes (Polybius 22, 7, 3) to provide a capital of one hundred and twenty talents, from the interest of which the members of the βουλή of the Achaeans were to receive their compensation. Estimates of the proposed rate of interest, the number and length of the sessions of the βουλή, the probable number of its members, etc.

Pp. 183-196. M. Boas, Cato und Julianus von Toledo. Boas

considers instances of Julianus' mention and quotation of Cato (author of the *Disticha Catonis*), and attempts an estimate of his knowledge of the poems and the extent of his use of them in the *Ars Grammatica*.

Pp. 197-208. Fridericus Marx, *Plauti Cistellaria Menandrea* in *Dioscuridis musiuo Pompeiano*. In this exhibit (No. 9987 of the Naples Museum; cf. *Guida illustrata del Mus. Nazion.* 1908, No. 169, p. 56; L. Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis*, Leipz. 1929, pp. 340 ff., tab. X.) reproduced on p. 198, Marx suggests that there is depicted a scene from the play of Menander from which the *Cistellaria* of Plautus was taken.

Pp. 209-214. Emanuel Loew, *Das Lehrgedicht des Parmenides eine Kampfschrift gegen die Lehre Heraklits*. A consideration of three fragments of Parmenides, apparently criticisms of the doctrine of Heraclitus as interpreted by Loew [*Rh. Mus.* 79 (1930), 123 ff.].

Pp. 215-229. Adolf Busse, *Xenophons Schutzschrift und Apologie*. Xenophon's defence of Socrates in the *Memorabilia* falls into three well-defined divisions. The first (1, 1-2, 8) is the defence against the charges brought against Socrates at his trial. It was composed soon after 394/3. There is no evidence that Xenophon was influenced by any written source. It is fairly trustworthy, but there is a tendency to foist Xenophon's own views on Socrates. It was composed without the knowledge of the Platonic *Apology*. The second division (1, 2, 8-16 and 49-64) is apparently an answer to the lampoon of Polycrates, and therefore written after 393. This section, as well, is not free from subjectivity. There is little use of other authorities. In the third (1, 2, 17-43), outside influences are at work. It was composed and inserted after X. had read dialogues of Aeschines of Sphettos and of Antisthenes, but before he knew the Platonic *Apology*; in 392 at the earliest. The *Apology* of Xenophon is a mosaic of expressions, sentences, and thoughts borrowed from Xenophon's own works and from other sources. The genuineness of the work is beyond question. It was composed after the death of Anytus and the appearance of Plato's *Phaedo*.

Pp. 230-252. Friedrich Oertel, *Zur Frage der attischen Grossindustrie*. Oertel contends against W. Schwahn (*Demosthenes gegen Aphobos*) that, in the case of workshops of Attica where ten to thirty slaves were employed, there is no evidence for "kapitalistische Produktionsweise". His arguments, for the greater part, deal with questions concerning the estate of Demosthenes.

Pp. 253-278. Wilhelm Heraeus, *Eine makkaronische Ovidfragment bei Quintilian*. In Quintilian 8, 6, 33 Heraeus reads:

at 'οἶνοιο' et 'βιονο' *ferimus in Graecis*, Ovidius <ι>oco cludit 'vino<eo> bonoeco', and thinks that in *vinoeo bonoeo* with its Homeric genitive ending we have the conclusion of a hexameter verse of Ovid of a macaronic nature. This verse is possibly from Ovid's youthful book of epigrams available to Quintilian and possibly to Ausonius, who, in his poetic (macaronic) letter to his friend, the rhetor Axius Paulus (p. 401 Schenkl; 232 Pæiper), has: κινῶν, εἰ κε θέλοις, ῥέκταρ οὔνιοιο βόνιοιο. Heraeus appends a résumé of macaronic poetry in antiquity, a discussion of Ennius' 'Metitoeo Fufetioeo' (Quint. 1, 5, 12) (a genitive of the Homeric form that may have influenced Ovid), and notes on Ausonius' poem.

Pp. 279-302. Ernst Bickel, Apollon und Dodona, ein Beitrag zur Technik und Datierung des Lehrgedichtes Aetna und zur Orakelliteratur bei Lactanz. To explain the difficulty at the beginning of the *Aetna*, where Dodona is spoken of as a favorite abode of Apollo, Bickel interprets three passages of Lactantius and Arnobius and shows that under the Roman Empire oracles of Zeus at Dodona passed under the name of Apollo.

Pp. 303-313. Th. Birt. Martiallesungen. Notes on sixteen passages.

Pp. 314-318. Eduard Schwyzer, Axt und Hammer. Zu Anakreon fr. 47 Bergk (45 Diehl). Schwyzer suggests the possibility that the μέγας πέλεις of this fragment is a hammer.

Pp. 319-320. MISZELLE.

Pp. 319-320. H. Vorwahl, Zum Ursprung des 'Feigenblatts'. Discussion as to the significance of fig leaves and fig trees. The fig leaf is not the symbol of modesty, but of an awakened consciousness of sex.

Pp. 321-325. Eduard Schwyzer, Zur φηδιστας-Inschrift. Textual and grammatical notes on the houstrophedon inscription from Argos published by W. Vollgraff [*Mnemosyne* N. S. 57 (1929), 206-234]. φηδιστας is a collateral form of ιδιότης.

Pp. 326-332. R. Hennig, Herodots 'goldhütende Greifen' und 'goldgrabende Ameisen'. Ein Kapitel zur Klarstellung antiker Wirtschaftsgeographie. The land of the 'gold-guarding griffins' referred to by Herodotus (4, 13-32) in his mention of Aristaeas and his travels, is probably the district bounded by the Ob River, the Altai Mountains, and the Yenisei River. Herodotus' 'gold-digging ants' are possibly bobaks, the Asiatic marmots, and the district referred to is that between the Himalaya and the Kuenlun Mountains or that north of the Kuenlun toward the Gobi Desert. From these indications and discoveries in this part of Asia Hennig thinks that there were trade relations between the Black Sea coast and Mongolia as early as the sixth century B. C.

Pp. 333-342. Carl Clemen, *Die Tötung des Vegetationsgeistes in der römischen Religion*. The slaying of the 'October-horse' by the Romans [Paulus Diaconus 191 and 246 (Lindsay)] and other cases of the offering of horses and other domestic animals by Indo-European peoples were symbolic sacrifices of the Spirit of Vegetation, slain that its powers might be preserved from sterility and so remain operative to grant further fertility to the fields.

Pp. 343-344. C. Fries, *De E Delphico*. A suggestion that the 'E' over the door of the temple at Delphi means '*templum*', a significance that the character seems to have had in Sumerian.

Pp. 345-349. F. Cornelius, *Die Partei des Peisistratus*. A defense of the thesis of Cornelius' work, *Die Tyrannis von Athen*, that the power of Pisistratus was based on the support of the urban population of Athens.

Pp. 350-380. F. Schachermeyr, *Die römisch-punischen Verträge*. New evidence as to the provisions and dates of the three treaties between Rome and Carthage mentioned by Polybius (3, 26, 1). The three treaties were concluded in 348, 306, and 279 B. C.

Pp. 381-390. Rudolf Zimmermann, *Die Zeit des Geschichtsschreibers Curtius Rufus*. Zimmermann believes Quintus Curtius, the historian, to be identical with the Quintus Curtius Rufus, the rhetor, mentioned by Suetonius in his list of the celebrated rhetoricians. Curtius flourished under Tiberius or Caligula. The emperor referred to by Curtius (10, 9, 3 ff.) is Caligula, not Vespasian.

Pp. 391-405. Wilhelm Heraeus, *Drei Fragmente eines Grammatikers Ovidius Naso?* From three passages [Vergil Scholia, *Buc.* 3, 105, ed. Hagen in *N. Jahrb.* Suppl. 4, 794; Commentary to *Hebrews* 11, 3 by Pseudo-Primasius or Haimo (Migne 117, 901 C); Glossarium of the so-called Philoxenus (CGIL 2, 22, 40 Götz; also *Gloss. Lat.* 2, 151 Lindsay)] Heraeus deduces the existence of a grammarian, Ovidius Naso, who cited Varro and was probably a commentator on the works of Vergil.

Pp. 406-410. Robert Philippon, *Nachtrag zu den Panaetiana* [cf. *Rh. Mus.* 78 (1929), 344 ff.]. Additional evidence from *Ox. Pap.* 11, 133 ff. (No. 1367) for the existence of a Heraclides, son of Serapion (to be distinguished from Heraclides Lembos), author of an epitome of Sotion. He was probably a pupil of Sotion and a Pythagorean.

Pp. 411-416. MISZELLEN.

P. 411. B. Warnecke, *Zur 'Agitatoria' des Naevius*. The fragment of the 'Agitatoria' (Ribbeck CRF³ p. 7, n. 2) is

probably from a quarrel between an old man and his wife. It is possible that the quarrel concerns the horse-racing proclivities of a son, who, like Pheidippides in Aristophanes *Clouds*, *ἰππάζεται . . . ὀνειροπολεῖ θ' ἱππους*.

Pp. 411-412. W. Morel, Begründendes *ita* im Catalepton II. In *Cat.* 2, 5 '*ita*' (causal) is to be read, not '*ista*' [as Reitzenstein *Rh. Mus.* 79 (1930), 70 ff.]. Examples of causal *ita*.

Pp. 413-416. Dietrich Mülder, Zu Catalepton III. Mülder defends the possibility of '*dedit*' in the last verse of *Catalepton* 3 against '*rapit*', the conjecture of Reitzenstein [*Rh. Mus.* 79 (1930), 86 f.].

Pp. 417-420. Register.

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MNEMOSYNE LX, PARTS 3 AND 4.

Pp. 231-238. G. Vollgraff, de Erasino Argivo. A bronze vase, found in 1930 during the excavation of the theatre, is inscribed TO ARABINO EM TO ARAE in characters of the early part of the fifth century. ARABINO is interpreted as *Ἐρασίῳ*.

Pp. 239-253. H. J. Scheltema, de antiphonia. *Ἀντιφωνία* is a case of two voices of different pitch singing an air, the higher-pitched of the two adding embellishments, some of whose intervals may be dissonant with the lower voice, but not disagreeably noticeable because of the speed with which they are executed.

Pp. 254-316. J. G. P. Borleffs, Index verborum quae Tertulliani de Paenitentia libello continentur. Text, apparatus criticus, and index verborum.

Pp. 317-320. S. Peppink, de Ammonii codice Laurentiano. Comparative readings from a manuscript not mentioned in Pauly-Wissowa under Ammonius.

Pp. 321-335. C. Brakman, I. f., ad Hegesippum quem edidit Vincentius Ussani. A few textual notes; numerous passages parallel with those in other authors; a few grammatical notes.

P. 336. B. A. van Groningen, ad titulum Pergamenum. Inscr. Perg. 1, 13, lines 4, ff.: mention of a year of 10 months looks toward the calculation of militia emerita as a whole, so that a soldier who has served 25 years of 12 months is credited as if he had served 30 years.

Pp. 337-360. A. J. Kronenberg, ad Epictetum. Textual notes on a number of passages, continued from *Mnemosyne* XXXVIII and LIII.

Pp. 361-368. Warren E. Blake, Euripidis Baccharum interpretatio secundum versus 877-881. Read as follows:

τί τὸ σοφόν; ἢ τί τὸ κάλλιον
παρὰ θεῶν γέρας ἐν βροτοῖς;
ἢ χεῖρ' ὑπὲρ κορυφᾶς
τῶν ἐχθρῶν κρείσσω κατέχειν;
ὃ τι καλὸν φίλον δέι.

Pp. 369-379. C. Brakman, I. f., Enniana. Ennius' dream has nothing to do with Callimachus; Homer's spirit transformed into a peacock symbolises eternity; Norden's "Ennius und Vergil" is commended; textual conjectures.

Pp. 380-384. S. Peppink, ad Aristophanem. Codex Marcianus 475 is not a copy of Venetus 474.

Pp. 385-402. H. I. Rose, de lupis, luperis, lupercalibus. It is not known for which of the gods the luperalia were celebrated; probably two tribes took part in the ceremonies at the earliest date; the manner of the rite is fairly well attested to; the Flamen Dialis was not present; the purpose was a lustratio, a warding off of the wolf, and an inducement of fecundity.

Pp. 403-408. R. J. Dam, de M. Apro ad Tac. Dial. cap. 2. A comparison of the characters of Aper and Antonius.

Pp. 409-422. S. Peppink, ad Nicephorum Walzii vol. 1. Textual notes.

Pp. 423-424. S. Peppink, de autographis Eustathianis cum codice Suidae comparatis. Eustathius does not make such mistakes as appear in Codex Marcianus 448; Codex Marcianus 460 is by the same hand, and therefore not that of Eustathius.

Pp. 425-435. A. J. Kronenberg, ad Plutarchi Moralia. Textual notes, continued from *Mnemosyne* LI, LII, LVIII.

P. 435. G. V., ad Carmen aureum. Verses 55-56 compared with Cleanthes, Hymn to Zeus, verses 23-24.

P. 436. G. V., ad Macrobian Saturn. 1, 18, 12. Emendation of Orphic frag. 237, verses 2 and 8.

Pp. 437-446. C. Brakman, I. f., ad Lucilium. Numerous emendations.

Pp. 447-448. F. Muller, J. f., ad Ciceronis in Verrem orationem V, 66. Instead of: Ipse autem triumphus quam ob rem omnium triumphorum gratissimus e. q. s., read: Ipse autem triumphus quam ob rem omnium proelicrum gratissimus.

P. 448. F. Muller, J. f., ad C. I. L. XIII, 10027, 221. hego scribo sinem manum on a bronze stylus is for ego scribo sine manu.

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REVIEWS.

Plautinische Akzentsstudien. Von HANS DREXLER. Breslau, M. & H. Marcus (Abhandlungen der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur, 6. 7. u. 9. Heft), 1932, 1933. I. Band, viii + 248 pp., 15 marks; II. Band, viii + 375 pp., 22 marks; Registerband, 72 pp., 4.20 marks.

Two extended works on early Latin verse have recently appeared. The first of these is Fraenkel's "Iktus und Akzent im lateinischen Sprechvers" published in 1928 (reviewed in *A. J. P. L.* [1929], 95 ff.). Fraenkel's treatise contains some valuable material, but, if taken literally, is almost a *reductio ad absurdum* of early Latin iambic and trochaic verse. For it maintains that in dialogue verse the metrical ictus always coincides with the accents of ordinary Roman prose speech, and this implies that Plautus and Terence were not Roman quantitative poets at all.

Drexler begins his own book with an examination of Fraenkel's results (pp. 5-25), but shows his good judgment by finally rejecting these views almost *in toto*. His own work is concerned with a study of important word-groups, which begin chiefly with a pyrrhic dissyllable (*meus, ego*) or a monosyllable (*quid, et, at*). He examines first monosyllables with a following iambic possessive, e. g. *rém tuúm, iús meúm*, and prepositional *composita* such as *dé-tuó, ad-tuúm*, where the possessive stands detached from a substantive (pp. 29-32). These groups follow the accent of cretic words (cf. *T. A. P. A.* XXXVI 175 n.). The 'light' possessive pronouns *meus, tuus* and *suus* are next treated (39-68) in connection with pyrrhic and iambic substantives, and the recessive accentuations *méus (túus) patrér, méus erús, méa scrór, méa (túa) domús* are shown (67) to be in almost exclusive use; thus, outside of anapaests, *meus erus* occurs only once (*Curc.* 177 *quód-meus erus*, p. 43). It had already been shown by Lindsay (*The Captivi*, p. 365²; *Early Latin Verse*, 153, 319) and by the present reviewer (*A. J. P. XXV* 260, 269; *T. A. P. A.* XXXVI 197) that in traditional and favored word-orders of the form *meus, tuus*, such as *méus pater, méus erus, ego quídem, ego scio, néque scio, ego volo, déne volo, béne facis, néque potest*, there is no place for two separate accents in the rapid legato pronunciation of common life and that in such groups the initial or recessive accent is practically the only one that is in use in dialogue verse. Drexler here cites all the examples in full and so establishes the usage very fully.¹

¹ Drexler refers very generously to the present reviewer, p. 25², when he speaks of "die Wortgruppentheorie von Skutsch und Lindsay, die am eindruckvollsten und auf breitester Grundlage von Radford vertreten

The accents *mí patér*, *méum erum*, *méum opus* are next illustrated,—also *méi patrís*, *méo patrí*, *méo viró* (already fully treated as synizesis forms *méi patrís*, etc., in *T. A. P. A. XXXVI* 197). The light possessives are then examined (78-121) when used in connection with longer and heavier substantives, e. g. *meis fáctis*, *fortúnae túae* (*tuáe*), but almost no results that admit of clear statement are gained from the very lengthy citations here given.

Groups formed by a short monosyllable and an iambic or pyrrhic verb, e. g. *quíd agis*, *béne agis*, *úbi erit*, are cited (126-147) under the designation of falling tribrach and anapaestic groups. The treatment is even more complete and detailed than that given in *T. A. P. A. XXXIV* 80 and *A. J. P. XXV* 271; not only are all cases of the regular initial accent *quíd agis* quoted, but also (133) all cases of the reversed or metrical accent, e. g. *Stich. 574 quíd agít* parasítus. Two or three examples are given of the accent ~, ~ = occurring in cases where, according to the grammatical construction, no genuine group exists, e. g. *Phorm. 777 tú*, *Geta, ábi prae*; *Aul. 187 sat hábes* (unusual meaning), but the accent *quíd ágis* is denied for all genuine groups (146). Yet while the view is expressed in *A. J. P. XXV* 26 that *séd ego*, *quís ea*, *séd erus* constitute genuine word-groups because of the I. E. traditional word-order as it affects the sentence-introducing conjunctions, Drexler professes to regard *at erit* as merely an accidental succession of a monosyllable and an iambic word (137, 143, 145). This view leads him to an unsatisfactory treatment of some cases which he considers "metrically ambiguous", e. g. *Capt. 684 at erit* mi hoc fáctum (142). In such examples he wavers and is in doubt.

A very lengthy study follows (148-197) of the dactylic groups which are formed by a long monosyllable and an iambic verb, but not very much of real value is added to the briefer discussion of the familiar groups *nón queó*, *níl morór*, *nón potést*, *quód facis*, *sí sapís*, *té voló*, *iám sció*, *né timé*, which is given in *A. J. P. XXV* 410 ff. A great mass of additional examples, however, are cited which show a variable or shifting accent, e. g. *Cas. 401* and *Poen. 1407 hoc age sis*; *Poen. 761 hoc áge sis*, *léno* (153 f.), *ábi sis* and *abi sis* (230). In a later section (198) there is an excellent treatment of *quantúm potést*. There is also a careful study of the groups formed by pronouns of trochaic

worden ist." Apart from numerous minor references, this acknowledgment stands quite alone, however, and in his discussion of *quíd ego*, *út ego* (II 138), he writes of "die Regel, die wir aufgestellt haben, 'the rule which we have brought forward'." This statement is misleading, especially to those German scholars who use American classical journals very moderately. Throughout the work only a part of Drexler's results are new.

scansion which here show an apparent oxytonesis, e. g. *quidquid agis, quidquid erat (erit), quidquid ibi, quisquis ille, ecquid agis, siquid erit, haecin erat*, etc., but almost nothing is added to the full treatment of these and similar pronominal combinations given in *T. A. P. A.* XXXV 26-47.

A large part of the first volume is both valuable and instructive, yet there are some serious faults. Thus we find too much petty detail and too much inconclusive discussion of single examples. The full treatment (140-197) of so many forms of the scansion—, ~ seems quite unnecessary.

Lindsay (*The Captivi*, p. 370) had pointed out that the regular accent in dialogue veræ is *ad-me, ad-se*, etc., and Ottenjann in his valuable dissertation had even explained *ad-te* as 'one word'. Drexler in his second volume cites all the examples of these phrases in full (II 6-16) and shows that, entirely without regard to the 'emphasis' or want of 'emphasis' attaching to the pronoun, such prepositional *composita* very rarely receive the accent upon the ultima and then only under those conditions where a spondee-word—such as *regnum*—may also be so accented.

Luchs's law that an iambic word at the end of the senarius must not be preceded by an iambus is next successfully extended (26-46). An exception is usually allowed to the law if a monosyllable precedes the iambic word, but Drexler shows conclusively that in those cases where two closely connected monosyllables (or a pyrrhic word and a long monosyllable) precede, they are treated very nearly as a single word and the fifth foot must still be a spondee or an anapaest, e. g. *hoc est*, not *hic est*; *quod sit*, not *quod est*; *mea sit*, not *mea est*. To vary the illustration, a senarius must end *quis hic est* homó Cure. 230, not *quis est* homó; *quid tu hic agis* (Cas. 789), not *quid hic agis*; *quid nunc agám* (Amph. 1046), not *quid hic agám*. A long discussion follows (56-134) upon *quid est* and *quid est, quid hoc* and *quid hoc, quid est* regóti and *quid est* regóti. Naturally we encounter once more no small 'Aporie' (92), and the only conclusion is that *quid est, quid hoc, quid hoc* regóti is the 'regular' accent, especially at the beginning of the sentence or the clause (45, 82); cf. also Lindsay, *Early Latin Verse*, 27, 320.

Ego has been quite fully discussed for Terence and for ten plays of Plautus in *T. A. P. A.* XXXIV 71 f., 83 ff., and in *A. J. P.* XXV 160, 260 f., 268 ff., and many of the recessive quadrisyllabic groups (which are formed by prefixed pyrrhic pronouns and adverbs) have been indicated, e. g. *ego sció, ego voló*, also *ita sció, neque sció, bene-voló*, etc. Just as the other weakly accented personal and demonstrative pronouns, *ego* manifests also a strong tendency to occupy the second or un-

accented place in the sentence (*A. J. P.* XXV 261), and this traditional word-order gives rise to very many trisyllabic groups, such as *quid ego*, *quod ego*, *quem ego*, *id ego*, *tibi ego*, *nisi ego*, *séd ego*, etc. In these groups the accent falls invariably upon the prefix even in those cases where *ego* becomes most strongly emphatic from the meaning of the sentence, e. g. *Men.* 1085 f. *Nón ego*. || *Át egó*. Yet since we have the frequent formulae *ego sum*, *ego me*, *ego te*, *ita me*, etc., in quadrisyllabic groups we may have either *út-ego-sum*, *séd-ego-me*, *égo hodie*, or *ut-égo sum*, *sed-égo-me*, *ego hódie*, etc.—In the case of a long monosyllable, however, either *hércle ego* or *hércle égo* is admitted in all the feet (*A. J. P.* XXV 406).

Drexler confirms and supports all the results previously gained, but since he includes all the plays of Plautus and aims to cite and classify all the occurrences of *ego* without exception (II 135-291), he is able also to bring forward much valuable new material. His conclusions are as follows: Plautus has the type *quid ego* 450 times (p. 136), *út ego* alone occurring 55 times and *át ego* 52 times (p. 141). At the beginning of trochaic verses he uses the phrase *quid ego núnc faciam* (7 times: p. 138), but he begins the senarius with *quid núnc ego faciám* (twice). He accents (147) only *tibi ego dico*, *tibi ego crédam*, *míhi ego vídeo*, but if *ego* is emphatic in meaning he often begins (148) the sentence with *égo tibi*, *égo míhi*,—less often with *ego tibi*, *ego míhi*. Outside of groups such as (*quod*) *égo scio*, (*ut*) *égo te*,—to which Drexler adds (173) *égo núnc*, *égo iam*, *égo fero*—cases of the accent *quid égo*, *quod égo*, etc., are scarcely found (136 ff., 162, 229). The accents *quid égo* and *quid egó* are both negligible in number, and through their rarity only confirm the rule (190). In the type *quid ego* the principle of the grouping is more effective even than the meaning and the force of strongly emphasized words, as may be seen clearly where *quid ego*, *ét ego*, *át ego*, *réque ego*, etc., form an independent sentence or clause (155-163). The scansion *egó* is carefully discussed (258-274). While it is not frequent, it is allowed by Drexler after a long monosyllable in 'cretic groups' and in a few other cases, e. g. *Epid.* 688 *dico egó tibi iam*; *Amph.* 601 *ille egó*, *Andr.* 702 *átque egó*. In the case of a short monosyllable, however, Drexler holds (138, 163-167) that the accent of *quid ego*, unlike that of *quid agis*, cannot be reversed and that in such a case Plautus regularly elides the second syllable of *ego*, e. g. *Amph.* 792 *quid ego áudio*; *Poen.* 1112 *nam quem ego aspício*. This view is undoubtedly correct as a whole, yet Drexler admits (163, 188) one exception after a short monosyllable, *séd quid egó video* (*Men.* 463), and should probably also admit 157, 185) *pol egó magis unum* (*Epid.* 453), where (*pol*) *égo-magis* is also barely possible.

Drexler's work is very diffuse and the material is not always well selected. His arguments are often too obscure and too metaphysical. Many of the conclusions set forth are not new, and he permits himself perhaps at times (e. g. II 343) to speak in too condescending a manner of the work of his predecessors. Yet the total impression produced is one of thoroughness and accuracy, the method of treatment is on an unusually large and generous scale, and it is a distinct cause for congratulation that so capable and diligent a scholar should have taken up anew difficult questions of group and sentence accentuation and have obtained so many important and instructive results.

Excellent Indices add greatly to the value of the work.

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Die Ueberlieferung der Scholien zu Apollonios von Rhodos.

CARL WENDEL. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1932.

This book is virtually the announcement of a new edition of the scholia to the Argonautica of Apollonius of Rhodes, to accompany a projected new edition of the poem, by Hermann Fränkel. It is also the completion of the work earlier begun by L. Deicke in his dissertation which was reviewed in A. J. Ph. XXXI 91-93. Deicke was working toward a new critical edition of the scholia. Prior to his death in 1914 considerable progress had been made. Using Deicke's unpublished material Wendel has re-surveyed the entire field, and the book of 118 pages here reviewed is a critical sifting of the material on which the new edition will be based.

The effort of Deicke was to work back to an earlier form of the text than that which is in our three principal witnesses. These witnesses are: 1. the *editio princeps* (F) which was later edited by Stephanus and which for over three hundred years constituted the only published text of the scholia. 2. The Paris scholia (P), published in 1818 by Schaefer in Brunck's edition of the Argonautica, from a manuscript no. 2727 in the National Library in Paris. 3. The scholia as found in codex Laurentianus 32.9 (L) and first published entire in 1854 in the edition of Merkel and Keil. Keil held that the text of L was prior to all others and that F and P were subsequent and inferior. However, in the years since 1854 Keil's view of the exclusive value of L was frequently challenged. It was argued that F and P do not derive from L but that they often agree in readings that are manifestly genuine and superior to those of L. The formula with which Deicke operated was that F and P have a common source, which each has in its own way modified. This common source is not derived from L but is rather parallel with L.

Deicke collated all the hitherto uncollated Italian manuscripts, and Wendel has extended the field of observation by gathering the testimony of mss. outside of Italy. A fresh examination of this mass of evidence leads Wendel to the conclusion that of the four groups of manuscripts that can be recognized only two have independent authority as witnesses to the text. These are the Recensio Laurentiana, best represented by Laur. 32. 9, and the Recensio Parisina, best represented by the Paris manuscript no. 2727. The new result reached by Wendel is that the *editio princeps* which has hitherto been credited with a degree of authority is wholly secondary and derived, being a combination of L and P.

Now that the field is cleared of all but these two witnesses it remains to compare them. L is extraordinarily good, yet in places is defective. It lacked for example the hypothesis to Book I. P is as bad as L is good. The original material is rephrased with a view to simplification, and there are failures to understand the original sense. But there is a core of good material in P that can be explained only by assuming the use of a good manuscript resembling L, but the peer not the derivative of L. Examples of this good material are given on pp. 48-49.

It becomes possible, then, to speak of the archetype of all existing manuscripts and to recognize that this archetype was substantially such a manuscript as Laur. 32. 9, and one showing the same defects. Wendel pushes even further back toward the beginning in that he finds evidence for a conclusion as to the predecessor of the archetype. This predecessor, "die Scholien-vorlage des Archetypus", was richer than the archetype, containing at least the missing hypothesis to Book I and certain scholia that were later lost.

The direct manuscript tradition of the scholia may be traced back as far as—to use a probable date—the time of Photius (p. 117). There are traces of a process of abridgment. Further evidence of this abridgment is gained from a comparison with the etymological literature. The *Etymologicum Magnum* contains glosses which expressly quote the scholia to Apollonius. Frequently a fuller and better text of the poem is quoted. The value of this material was recognized by Merkel and was to some extent used in his edition of 1854. Since then there have come to light two mss. of the *Etymologicum Magnum* that differ considerably, and often for the better, from the printed text in Gaisford's edition. Specimens from these mss. have been published by Miller, and notably by Reitzenstein in his *Geschichte der Griechischen Etymologika*. Wendel has had access to whatever is available of this material, and he follows Reitzenstein in using the term *Etymologicum Genuinum* to describe this improved but still unedited text of the Et. M. Upon inspection it

appears that the compiler of Et. Gen. had before him a text of the scholia which is older and better than that of the archetype of the extant manuscripts. Tangible proof of this exists in the occurrence, for example, of the names of seven authors whose names have disappeared from the abridged text of the scholia in our manuscripts.

The testimony of Et. Gen. reaches back to the ninth century. It is possible to get a glimpse of the state of the text as early as the fifth century. Two lexicographers, Orus and Methodius, certain of whose glosses have been preserved in the later lexicographers, had access to scholia to the *Argonautica*, and that too in a fuller form than that which is in our manuscripts. The history of the text, then, as Wendel reconstructs it, may be summarized as follows: Theon, the grammarian, wrote a commentary to the *Argonautica*. About fifty years later Lucillus of Tarrha edited the *Argonautica* with a commentary that dealt briefly with language and subject matter. Still later, a certain Sophocles (or Sophocleius, as Laur. 32.9 gives the name) composed a more voluminous commentary, using presumably much good mythographical and geographical lore from Theon's then almost forgotten work. Orus and Methodius borrowed from this work of Sophocles. Then, in the fifth century an unknown editor reduced the existing material to the form which is best known from the ms. Laur. 32.9, and he added after the last note to the last verse of the poem: "The scholia from Lucillus of Tarrha and Sophocleius and Theon are here." This fifth century "Sylloge" as we may call it set limits to the compass of the scholia. The earlier works upon which the Sylloge was based were forgotten. The Sylloge alone survived, and from time to time suffered abridgment, whether by accident or by the inertia of the scribe. So the manuscript tradition stood down to the time of the invention of printing.

This work of Wendel which is here summarized has been done with infinite patience and great acumen. The resultant text of the scholia will conform to the canons of critical editing, but the result will not be revolutionary. As the concluding sentence of the book puts it, the modern editor will do as Laskaris did, build on Laur. 32.9 and the core of the recensio Parisina, using however more thoroughly than hitherto the neglected collateral evidence.

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Fausto Ghisalberti, *Giovanni di Garlandia: Integumenta Ovidii, poemetto inedito del secolo XIII* (Testi e Documenti Inediti o Rari, II), Messina-Milano: Casa Editrice Giuseppe Principato. 1933. Paper. Pp. 79. L. 20. Three hundred numbered copies.

This first edition of the thirteenth-century allegorical commentary (in 260 elegiac couplets) on Ovid by the famous Paris grammarian is accompanied by a complete introduction dealing with the identity of this work and its author, its use and popularity in its own day, the style, method and purpose of the poem, and a few brief remarks on the manuscripts (pp. 1-27). The matter of sources and illustrative material is very ably and fully presented in the notes appended to the text. In the reviewer's opinion more space could have been given to matters of style, to certain negative evidence concerning the sources, and to the verbal indebtedness of the poem to the *Metamorphoses*; and greater accuracy of typography, especially in the text and apparatus, might have been attained; but it is in the recension of the text that the editor has really failed to satisfy.

Ghisalberti bases his text upon four manuscripts, O(D), Ps(P), V, Vp, and certain marginalia, using two of the three independent manuscripts, indicated in the stemma which I published several years ago.¹ However, he nowhere evaluates V and Vp (as well as the marginalia) which were unknown to me. From the information in the *apparatus criticus* it is clear that of V and Vp neither could have been copied from the other, and that neither could have been the direct archetype of any of the other existing manuscripts, because of the omissions of certain lines and the presence of certain variant readings peculiar to V and Vp; e. g., 28 fidem] fretum Vp, 64 rudes] virum V, 350 statusque] fonsque V. Neither could have been copied from any of the other manuscripts because each of the two contains lines omitted in various others. What their respective relations to the groups and independent manuscripts are, is not so readily seen. Vp has some strange similarities to Ps: they both omit lines 129-134, 149-150; but compare in 62 clausa O Vp, 83 viciorum] viciosaque Vp CUAA¹, 137 fert] sunt VpL. From its mere 152 lines now extant little can be concluded; it appears to have some connection with Ps β , which latter, as I have shown, exerted some influence on Ps itself. The case for V is not much

¹ "The Manuscripts of the *Integumenta* on the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid", *TAPA LX* (1929), pp. 179-199, to which I refer later. The letters in parentheses are those used in my stemma. In his discussion of my readings Ghisalberti (pp. 32-33) in three cases has apparently misunderstood my points, for in those places (vv. 123, 189, 449) my text agrees with his; in certain others I gladly acknowledge the pertinence of his criticisms.

clearer: V omits 1-12, PsL omit 9-12; 212 fatue] statim VL Amb.; 298 speciosa VLRP⁴; 366 metuisse Va; 374 obstruit] obruit Va; 404 necat] notat Va (less CU); 487 mittuntur] mutantur PsV. The relationship seems stronger with β (with its connection with Ps) than with any other group. However, it possesses none of the added lines peculiar to that group, and contains lines that are omitted therein.

If all the marginalia in each of the manuscripts listed are by the same hand throughout, we may reach at least some negative conclusions; I have only the material from Ghisalberti's apparatus with which to work. CU omit 151-152, which are quoted in P¹P⁴P⁵F⁶P⁷, AA¹⁻⁷; Ps Vp omit 129-134 which are in P⁶⁻⁸; R omits 131-134, but 131 is in P⁶, 133 in P⁷; Ps Vp omit 149-150, which are found in F⁴⁻⁷ AA¹; Ps omits 267-270 which is found in P⁴P⁶P⁷ AA¹; Ps omits 273-274 which is found in AA¹. In some cases, the added lines to which I have referred appear: p. 204 in CU Amb. P⁷ Par. 8005; p. 206 in CULRH Amb. Ric. Par. 8005, 8009; p. 210 in CUL Amb. Ric.; p. 212 in CU Amb. It is obvious that these manuscripts were glossed from copies in the β group or from others related to them. The readings of 83 already cited, of 117 sumpsaere] traxere CU AA¹ Ps P⁶, and 212 fatue] statim VL Amb., 473 scilicet] solis CUP⁴, support this, and, with the exception of 212, indicate a much closer relation to CU than to LR. At all events the evidence of such marginalia cannot, and must not, be received as that of independent manuscripts.

Ghisalberti often follows the reading of O(D) in the face of good authority to the contrary; e. g., in lines 12, 40, 46 (OVp), 62 (OVp), 90, 97, 102, 129, 138, 170, 198, 225 (OP⁴), 245, 289, 378 (ORU), 416. In all these lines, in my opinion, the sense demands the reading of the majority of the manuscripts, or at least an obvious reading indicated by that majority. Several lines are based on readings from citations, especially P⁴ (readings from marginalia in a Paris Ms of Ovid), in the face of convincing evidence from the main manuscripts; e. g., in lines 268 (Amb. Par. 18546), 212 (Ps Par. 18546), 225 (OP⁴), 465, 468, 471, 474, 482, 484. With the readings in several other lines I would not agree: e. g., in 15, where the text is emended; 5C, where *dicam*, for which there is no authority (or apparatus), is read; 134, where *et*, for which there is no authority, is read; 193, where PsC are followed (there is no apparatus) in a *lectio facilior*; 219, where *sapientia* is emended to *sapientie* (cf. *Ov. Mor.* IV. 6301); 296, where balance is destroyed by following V (HML); and 508, where Ps, in the *lectio facilior*, is followed.

It is easier to criticise than to create. Ghisalberti has aided us all with his excellent commentary, but in my opinion his text is not comparable to it.

LESTER K. BORN.

Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. Hegesippi qui dicitur historici libri V. Ed. VINCENTIUS USSANI. Vienna, 1932. Pars prior, pp. 423.

The present volume is the sixty-sixth of the Vienna corpus of ecclesiastical texts, and its appearance is a reassuring sign that this important enterprise of the Vienna Academy is not moribund. A fear of this seemed warranted by the desperate financial conditions in Austria in the post-war period. Publications came almost to a standstill; only four volumes of the series had appeared since the war, these being texts that had been practically finished before 1914. Finally came the announcement that the German bookseller Fock had taken over the stock of books that remained in the hands of the Vienna publishers: in point of fact, the work on a number of texts has made a more or less steady progress since the war and more recently it has been only the necessity of making new arrangements with the publishers that has delayed the appearance of two additional volumes. The preparation of many of these texts involves an enormous amount of labor owing to the large number of MSS involved, and the preliminary work is often a matter of years. The difficulties of such an undertaking may be illustrated by the text of the Ambrosiaster. The editing of this work in three volumes was assigned to the Jesuit Heinrich Brewer, who died in 1922 after spending twenty years in collecting material; his successor, another Jesuit, Alfred Feder died in 1928, and a third member of the order, A. Grimm, is now carrying on the task, collating new MSS and revising collations already made.

The text of Hegesippus came near to being a casualty of the war. It was sent to the printer in 1914 and for a long time publication seemed improbable. This led Ussani to publish the first book in the Proceedings of the Venice Academy (1922); the Vienna publishers, however, resumed activity in 1927 and the text part (Vol. II) was in print in 1928. Since then publication has been delayed by the inability of the editor to complete Vol. I (Indices and Praefatio). It was finally decided to publish Vol. II separately.

The new edition marks a definite advance on that of Weber-Caesar (1864, reprinted in Ballerini's edition of Ambrosius, 1875-83), which was based on the Cassel MS (saec. VI/VII); but a critical discussion of the text will not be possible until the first volume appears. In addition to the Casselanus, Ussani has used an Ambrosianus (saec. VI/VII) and a half-dozen MSS dating from the eighth to the eleventh century; for an estimation of their value we must await the appearance of Vol. I. The important problem is, of course, to determine the relative merits of the two ancient MSS but it will also be of interest to learn the position of the later MSS in the tradition: one would

like to know, for example, why at 319.12 the editor rejects the reading *inulti* of HBZ in favor of *inutiles* (*dedecores atque inutiles sicut pecora trucidantur*) where Sallust's *Historiae* have *dedecores inuitique terga ab hostibus caedebantur*. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the present volume is its list of reminiscences of classical authors—our text is not a translation but rather an adaptation in Latin of the Greek original. The author most frequently imitated is, of course, Vergil, with over a hundred examples from the *Aeneid*, and some twenty from the *Georgics*, but only two or three from the *Eclogues*. Next in order of frequency is Sallust; Ussani cites some thirty parallels from the *Jugurtha* and about half that number from the *Catiline*. The "translator" also had a MS of the *Historiae* from which he appears to have drawn freely—about twenty-five parallels are found in the surviving fragments of Sallust. He had another work that was rare in the Middle Ages—Tacitus; a half-dozen citations occur from the *Annales* and the *Historiae*, also two or three from the *Germania*. Livy (Book XXXVII) is imitated twice. Cicero is not used as often as one might expect; the texts represented are: *De finibus* (once), *Philippics* (twice), *De divinatione* (once), *De officiis* (twice), *Milo*, *Tusculans*, *De Senectute*, *De provinciis consularibus* (once or twice each); the references from the *De republica*, with one exception, and that a doubtful one, are all from the *Somnium Scipionis* and may have been taken from Macrobius. Horace is imitated about a dozen times; half the cases are from the *Odes*; the rest are from the *Satires* and the *Epistles*. Other authors are represented by only a few parallels: Terence (2), Lucan (4), Ovid, *Metamorphoses* (3), Seneca, *De clementia* (1), Phaedra (1), Agamemnon (1), Claudian (1), Solinus (4), and in the speeches, the *Ps.-Quintilian Declamationes*, several times. The parallels with Ambrosius are of special interest in connection with the question of authorship. The *testimonia* include Bede, Adamnan and, the most frequent of all, Isidore.

At the end of the volume one page of addenda and corrigenda is devoted to the text and three pages to the critical apparatus. The editor promises also to enlarge his *Index locorum* by additional citations from Ambrosius, Cicero, Isidore, Sallust and Vergil.

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Menekrates Zeus und Salmoneus. By OTTO WEINREICH. Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1933. Pp. 130.

This study, which is the eighteenth volume of the *Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft*, is primarily concerned with

Menecrates, the Syracusan physician of the IV century B. C., who posed as Zeus because he claimed that he alone gave life to mankind by working cures, especially of epilepsy, the *ἱερὰ νόσος*. He wore a divine costume of purple robe, golden crown, sceptre, and *κρηπίδες*, while he was surrounded by a court composed of distinguished men whom he designated as his *δοῦλοι* and who played the rôle of such divinities as Hermes, Asclepius, Heracles, Apollo, and Helius. He likewise wrote letters with the signature "Menecrates Zeus" to monarchs, as, for example, to Philip of Macedon.

Weinreich has made a careful investigation of our sources of information on this strange physician and has also studied a great number of modern cases of religious paranoia which show striking parallels to the various manifestations of the divine state assumed by Menecrates, who is shown most convincingly to have been a religious paranoiac.

On the other hand the mythological king Salmoneus, who is represented as imitating and opposing Zeus, apparently was a pre-Hellenic divine monarch who, in time, came to be caricatured by Greek *σωφροσύνη* and transformed into a paranoiac.

The psychiatric material adduced by Weinreich is tremendously illuminating for the understanding of the cult paid in antiquity to rulers or to private persons. This most readable and scholarly book should be of exceptional interest for all who concern themselves with the history of religion or with psychiatry.

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NEW LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF THE SECULAR GAMES.

[The discovery of a new phrase in the prayer used in the imperial *ludi saeculares* has led to this reëxamination of the early history of the games. They seem to have been celebrated for the first time not, as is generally believed, in 249, but in the Varronian year 348 when M. Valerius Corvus was consul. 249 is however the date when they were made a standing festival. Like the altar of Dis and Proserpina, they were associated with Valerian traditions, and Valerius Antias is probably responsible for connecting games and altar, which in reality had nothing to do with each other. He may also be responsible for the insertion of the puzzling dictator years in the consular Fasti. Valerian traditions may also account for irregularities in the republican dates of festivals listed in the records of the *quindecimviri*.]

New fragments of the Severan *Acta* of the secular games were found in 1930 on the left bank of the Tiber near the Pons Aelius close to the spot where the earlier fragments of the same *Acta* and of the *Acta* of Augustus were found in 1890.¹ These new stones have on them in fragmentary form the proceedings of the second and third day of the games of 204 A. D. with provision for the honorary *ludi* which were to follow the festival proper. Among details of interest is an instance of the spelling Terentum for the region of the Campus Martius where the games were held. The manuscripts of ancient authors who mention the region show variation between the spelling Tarentum and Terentum, but the proper ancient spelling has since 1890 been regarded as fixed by the occurrence of the form Tarentum

¹ Romanelli, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1931, 313 ff. See also Hülsen, *Rhein. Mus.* LXXXI (1932), 366 ff.; Diehl, *Sitzb. preuss. Akad.* 1932, 762 ff.; Funaioli, *Riv. Filol.* XI (1933), 211 ff.; Gagé, *Rev. Ét. Lat.* X (1932), 441 ff.; XI (1933), 172 ff. The articles of Diehl, Funaioli, and Gagé reached me after the paper was in proof.

in another Severan fragment. It is clear now that the same uncertainty that we find in the manuscripts prevailed in antiquity, and, although the connection with the city Tarentum is still possible, the spelling and accordingly the origin of the word is again open to doubt.²

But the chief interest of the fragments is in the account of the ritual. There is the same fulness of detail which marks the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* of 218 A. D. which have preserved the song of the Arval Brethren. Here too a song is quoted, not an ancient one but a new *carmen saeculare* of some forty-eight hexameters which some unknown poet composed for the occasion.³ The ritual, which differs very little from the Augustan ritual although it is more explicit in details of costume and appurtenances, can in general be used to restore the Augustan rites. It has provided important new evidence in the text of one of the prayers. My purpose in this paper is to review the republican history of the ceremony in the light of this evidence.

The ancient material on the secular games⁴ may be divided into two groups, the documents which directly concern the performance of the festival, and the statements in literary sources about the games. The documents consist in the Augustan and Severan *Acta*⁵ together with a small fragment of *Acta* which may belong to the celebration under Claudius or that under Domitian,⁶ the secular hymn which Horace wrote for Augustus' festival, the secular oracle preserved by Phlegon⁷ and Zosimus⁸ which is usually related to the Augustan celebration, and a

² For the proposal to relate the form Terentum to the Sabine word *terenum*, soft, see Preller-Jordan, *Röm. Mythol.* II, 82. The ancient association of the word with Tarentum in Magna Graecia is however suggested by Valerius Maximus II, 4, 5 and Zosimus II, 1-2. A hero Tarentos is mentioned by Martial IV, 1, 8 and Statius, *Silv.* IV, 1, 38 (with the probable reading of Turnebus). Weinstock's suggestions for the origin of Tarentum (s. v. *R. E.*) are unconvincing.

³ For the fragments of the secular hymn, no line of which is complete, see the arrangements of Hülsem, Diehl, and Funaioli, *op. cit.*

⁴ For an excellent discussion of the secular games see Nilsson, s. v. *Saeculares ludi*, *R. E.*

⁵ *C. I. L.* VI, 3232E, 32326-36. See also the earlier publication with Mommsen's valuable commentary, *Eph. Epig.* VIII, pp. 225-309.

⁶ *C. I. L.* VI, 32324-5.

⁷ *περί μακροβίων* Jacoby, *Fræg. griech. Hist.* IIB, pp. 1189 f.

⁸ II, 6. See Diels, *Sätyllinische Blätter*, 133 ff.

series of coins of Domitian which have on them representations of sacrifices and rites of the festival of 88.⁹ The ancient statements come from a number of different sources, the most important of which, that of Zosimus (II 1 ff.), a Byzantine writer of the fifth century and that of Censorinus (*D. N.* 17) with abundant quotations from earlier sources, have serious lacunae.

The literary tradition about the republican festival and the documents of the imperial festival, although they agree that the games honored gods of the lower world and were under the Sibylline books and therefore followed the *Graecus ritus*, show marked divergence in the length of time assigned to the *saeculum*, the names of the gods for whom the festival was celebrated, and the details of the ritual. The imperial festival represented by the *Acta* of Augustus and Severus was based on a *saeculum* of a hundred and ten years, while the republican celebration assumed a *saeculum* of a hundred years.¹⁰ The gods in the imperial documents are the Moerae, the Ilithyiae, and Terra Mater who receive sacrifices on three successive nights by the Tiber, and Jupiter, Juno Regina, and Apollo and Diana who are honored on the succeeding days on the Capitol and the Palatine. In the accounts of the republican festival the only gods mentioned are Dis and Proserpina¹¹ who receive sacrifices at the altar of the two gods in the Campus Martius. The offerings in the imperial festival are lambs and goats for the Moerae, cakes for the Ilithyiae, a pregnant sow for Terra Mater, an ox for Jupiter, a cow for Juno Regina, and cakes for Apollo and Diana, while in the republican festival we hear only of oxen for Dis and cows for Proserpina.¹² In the imperial games *sellisternia*

⁹ Dressel, *Eph. Epig.*, VIII, 310 ff.; Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, II, pp. xcvi., 390, 392-8, Pl. 77, 7; 78, 3-79, 4.

¹⁰ Livy and Varro as quoted by Censorinus *D. N.* 17. Claudius, who held secular games sixty-four years after Augustus, seems to have returned to the hundred year *saeculum*. See Nilsson, *op. cit.*, 1717-8.

¹¹ Zosimus II, *passim*; Livy, *Per.* 49; Varro ap. Cens. 17, 8; Verrius Flaccus ap. Pseudo-Acro *Scholia* on Horace, *O. S.* 8 (cf. Festus p. 440 L.); Val. Max. II, 4, 5.

¹² The *hostiae furvae* mentioned in the quotation of Varro, Cens. 17, 8, are made more explicit in Val. Max. l. c. caesisque atris bubus, Diti maribus, feminis Proserpinae. The victims are mentioned in the singular by Zosimus II, 3, 3.

are celebrated by the matrons while *lectisternia* are, according to one authority,¹³ a feature of the republican ceremony. The imperial festival was celebrated continuously during three days and nights, while in the republic we hear except in one source only of sacrifices on three nights. An important part of the imperial ritual was the secular hymn sung on the third day, first on the Palatine and then on the Capitol. This hymn and the continuance of the festival through the day as well as the night are described as features of the festival by one source, the Augustan Verrius Flaccus, if we may trust a quotation in the Pseudo-Acro *Scholia* on Horace.¹⁴ Writing presumably after the Augustan festival had taken place, he associates it with the traditions of the republican games, and states that the Sibylline oracle had in the first Punic War fixed the length of the *sacculum* as a hundred and ten years. Dis and Proserpina are the only gods he mentions for the ceremonies but another statement quoted by the same scholiast mentions, presumably as an early feature of the games, a song to be sung on the Capitol by the children of nobles. This implies that other divinities, presumably gods of the Capitol, had a share in the offerings. Zosimus, whose account may go back to Verrius Flaccus,¹⁵ after repeating the legend of the origin of the festival and associating it, as others do, with Dis and Proserpina, gives a detailed ac-

¹³ Val. Max. l. c. The epitome of Paris has *sellisternia* instead of *lectisternia*. Roman annals frequently do not distinguish clearly between the two ceremonies.

¹⁴ On C. S. 8. Valerius (the *Schol. Oruq.* have the correct Verrius) Flaccus refert carmen saeculare et sacrificium inter annos centum et decem Diti et Proserpinae constitutum bello Punico primo ex responso decemvirosum, cum iussi essent libros Sibillinos inspicere ob prodigium, quod eo bello accidit. Nam pars murorum urbis fulmine icta ruit. Atque ita responderunt: bellum adversus Kartaginenses prospere geri posse, si Diti et Proserpinae triduo, id est tribus diebus et tribus noctibus, ludi fuissent celebrati et carmen cantatum inter sacrificia. Hoc [autem] accidit consulibus P. Claudio Pulchro L. Iunio Pulchro (249 B. C.). Cum Roma pestilentiae laboraret, ex libris Sibyllinis iussum est, ut Diti Patri ad Terentium stipes mitteretur. Hoc etiam idem libri iusserunt, ut nobilium liberi in Capitolio hoc carmen decantarent. There is a similar note in the *Schol. Oruq.* with no significant additions. See also Festus p. 440 L, a fragmentary passage where the detail about the three days and nights seems to have been repeated.

¹⁵ See note 34 below.

count of the ritual as we know it in the imperial Acta. To the list of gods honored in the sacrifices by night he adds Dis and Proserpina; to the gods who received sacrifices by day he adds Latona.¹⁶

The precedents of the Augustan festival were provided for by the college of *quindecimviri*, who determined the proper date, and by Ateius Capito,¹⁷ a great contemporary authority on human and divine law, who prescribed the ritual. The *quindecimviri*, taking as their basis the *saeculum* of a hundred and ten years, the length accepted by Varro, provided a series of four republican dates when secular festivals were supposed to have occurred, 456, 346, 236, 126. The Augustan festival, celebrated in 17 and not in 16 as would be expected from this series of dates, was thus the fifth, representing the completion of a period of four hundred and forty years, after which according to Varro a complete rebirth, *παλγγενεσία*, was supposed to take place.¹⁸ The dates, quoted by Censorinus from the records of the *quindecimviri*, have no confirmation in any source except the *Acta* of Severus¹⁹ and the *Fasti Capitolini* where details about the

¹⁶ Lanciani's identification of the Ara Ditis et Proserpinae with remains found in 1887 near the Chiesa Nuova, generally accepted by students of Roman topography (cf. Jordan-Hülse, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, I, 3, p. 478) has with good reason been questioned by Boyancé, *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist.* XLII (1925), 135 ff. and Willeumier, *Rev. Ét. Lat.* X (1932), 127 ff. But their view that the altar lay in the Ghetto is also impossible, for the site of both the altar and the secular sacrifices was Tarentum, and Tarentum must be the region where the inscriptions set up to commemorate the games were found. See Gagé, *Rev. Ét. Lat.* X, 441 ff. The undiscovered altar of Dis and Proserpina is to be sought near the end of the Corso Vittorio Emanuele.

¹⁷ Zosimus, II, 4, 2. τὸν θεσμὸν Ἀττίου Καπίτωνος ἐξηγησαμένου, τοὺς <δε> χρόνους, καθ' οὓς ἔδει τὴν θυσίαν γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν θεωρίαν ἀχθῆναι, τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα ἀνδρῶν.

¹⁸ Varro, ap. Aug. *C. D.* XXII, 28. Marcus Varro ponit in libris quos conscripsit de gente populi Romani, cuius putavi verba ipsa ponenda. Genethliaci quidam scripserunt, inquit, esse in renascendis hominibus quam appellant *παλγγενεσίαν* Graeci; hac scripserunt confici in annis numero quadringentis quadraginta, ut idem corpus et eadem anima, quae fuerint coniuncta in homine aliquando, eadem rursus redeant in coniunctionem.

¹⁹ *C. I. L.* VI, 32326, l. 14 mentions the institution of the festival in the consulship of M. Valerius and Sp. Verginius (456 B. C.). In l. 17 Severus' celebration is referred to as the seventh. Domitian's was the sixth of the series, that of Claudius being calculated on a different basis.

secular games were inserted soon after the Augustan festival had taken place.²⁰ They seem to have been altogether fictitious. Capito's well known readiness to flatter the emperor might lead us to suspect him of the same freedom in reconstituting the details of the ritual that the *quindecimviri* employed in reconstituting the dates of previous celebrations. But suspicion must not go too far, for the ancient character of the *ludi* and the prayer suggest that the festival, though it does not agree with what we know of the republican *ludi saeculares*, was, like other religious reforms of Augustus, based on early precedents. Capito may conceivably have made additions to the list of gods or places of sacrifice. Certainly Augustus' new temple of Apollo, where the sacrifices of the third day took place, could not have figured in earlier ceremonies. But that does not prove that Apollo and Diana were not included in the secular rites before the time of Augustus. The two gods are found as variants of Sol and Luna, the regular symbols of the *saeculum*, on late republican coins of P. Valerius Aspiculus.²¹ It would not be surprising to find Apollo prominent from the beginning in rites ordered by the oracles of Apollo. Jupiter and Juno are well known in expiatory ceremonies commanded by the Sibylline books.²² The Moerae and the Ilithyiae are otherwise known

²⁰ *Fasti Cons. Cap. T. I. L. I*, 1^a, p. 28. Augustus' celebration is listed as the fifth. Another fragment, an obvious addition on the margin of the stone, has a record of the third celebration in 236, which even gives the names of the *magistri* of the *decemviri*, a detail which shows that the inventions of the *quindecimviri* were fairly explicit. Similar records, now lost, must have existed for the celebrations of 456, 346, and 126.

²¹ Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, I, 534-5.

²² See for instance Livy, XXII, 1. There is no exact parallel for the song sung by the twenty-seven boys and the same number of girls. Songs by twenty-seven maidens to Juno Regina and other gods are attested as a regular ceremony to avert the appearance of an *androgyne*. See Livy XXVII, 37, the song composed by Livius Andronicus; XXXI, 12; Obsequens 27a; 34; 36. Cf. also the oracle of the *androgyrus*, Diels, *op. cit.*, 11 ff. with the discussion pp. 37 ff. Songs of the same number of maidens to Ceres and Proserpina are also recorded by Obsequens, 43 and 42. It is for these ceremonies that we have an important parallel in the fresco from Ruvo which Altheim, *Terra Mater*, 1 ff. tries to connect with the *car-men saeculare*. Sacrifices performed

in Roman public cult only from Dionysius' list (*Ant.* VII, 72, based on Fabius Pictor) of the gods whose images were carried in the *pompa circensis*. They are not the type of divinities who were being introduced in the time of Augustus. The combination of these goddesses of childbirth with Mother Earth is a natural one, but there are no exact parallels for the rites known, either in Tarentum or in any Greek city.²³

No definite clue to the period when the ceremonies originated is provided by the gods except the evident fact that the rites cannot be older than the introduction of the Sibylline Books at the end of the kingship. The ceremonies, expiatory in character like others ordered by these oracles,²⁴ have their closest analogies in the rites of which Livy begins to give full accounts in the third decade. But these rites were not new in the Second Punic War.

A more definite indication as to the period when the games were first given is provided by the fact that the *ludi* celebrated during the three days of the festival were entirely *scaenici*. The earliest Roman *ludi* were all *circenses*, and *ludi scaenici* were, according to a record which probably goes back to the *Annales Maximi*, unknown until they were introduced to avert a pestilence after the performance of the third *lectisternium* in 364 (*Livy* VII 2). If, as is generally believed, the tradition is correct, we must date the origin of the *ludi saeculares* after 364. The scenic games were moreover early in character. Some of them are described as *ludi Latini* to distinguish them from *ludi Graeci*, which were known after Livius Andronicus presented his plays in 240, and they follow early traditions. All of them were celebrated in temporary structures, and those which immediately followed the sacrifices took place on a stage to which no seats

by girls and boys, *patrimi* and *matrimi*, in one case ten, in the other thirty, are mentioned by *Livy* XXXVII, 3 and *Obsequens* 40. A song sung by girls and boys (among them *libertini*) is reported by *Macrobius* (*Sat.* I, 6, 13) as a *procuratio* in the Second Punic war, but *Livy* does not mention it. *Catullus* 34 and *Horace* *O.* I, 21, indicate that songs to Apollo and Diana sung by girls and boys were known in Roman cult.

²³ For the Moerae and the Ilithyiae together (Greek texts, like the *Acta*, show some variation between the singular and plural of Ilithyia) see *Pindar*, *Olymp.* VI, 24; *Nem.* VII, 1; *Kaibel*, *Epigr. Gr.* 238.

²⁴ On the consultation of the Sibylline oracles see *Livy* XXII, 9, 8, quod non ferre decernitur nisi cum taetra prodigia nuntiata sunt.

were attached,²⁵ thus according with the ancient traditions which required the Romans to stand while witnessing scenic games.²⁶

The text of the prayers to the various gods, which is now more fully known, provides another indication of date. The prayers to Terra Mater and Apollo preserved in the new fragments of the Severan *Acta* contain the phrase *utique semper Latinus optemperassit*. The phrase was already partly known from the prayer to Juno Regina which is preserved in the fragments of the Severan *Acta* found much earlier, but Mommsen's restoration *utique semper Latinu[m nomen tuearis]* is now shown to be incorrect. The prayer called not for the protection of the Latins but for their submission. The prayer to Apollo now reads: *Apollo uti tibi in illis libris scriptum est cuiusq. rei ergo quodq. meliu[s] siet p. R. Q. u]ti t[ibi novem libis n]ovem popanis n[ovem p]roib. sacrum fiat tequaeso pre]corque uti tu [imperium mciestat]emq[ue] p. R. Q. [d]uelli domique auxis utiquae semper Latinus optemperassit cetera [ut supra. The last part of the prayer referred to in *cetera ut supra* can be restored from the prayer to Juno Regina, the end of which is as follows: *utique semper Latinu[s] optemperassit tribuasq. aeternam victoriam valetudinem*²⁷ p. R. Q. legionibus[que] p. R. Q. remque publicam p. R. Q. salvam serve[s] incolumemq[ue] faxis sisque volens propitia p. [R. Q. XV]viris s. f. nobis domibus familiis].*

There are moreover other details about the Latins in the documents recording the festival. The secular games themselves are called *Ludi Latini saeculares* in the Augustan inscription and Latium is coupled with Rome as a sharer in the new age in the *Carmen Saeculare* (65 ff.).

Si Palatinas videt aequus aras
remque Romanam Latiumque felix
alterum in lustrum meliusque semper
prorogat aevum.

²⁵ Augustan *Acta*, II. 100 ff. *Ludique noctu sacrificio [co]nfecto sunt commissi in scaena quoi theatrum adiectum non fuit nullis positis scililibus*. Cf. Zosimus, II, 5, 3. The new Severan fragments, II. 57 f. show that the provision applied to the scenic games following the sacrifices to Apollo and Diana, as well as to the sacrifices performed at night.

²⁶ Val. Max. II, 4, 2. *senatus consulto cautum est ne quis in urbe propiusve passus mille subsellia posuisset sedensve ludos spectare vellet*.

²⁷ This restoration, which would fit the space, I have based on the text of the prayer to the Moerae in the Augustan *Acta*.

The Latins also appear in the oracle providing for the secular games which because it assumes a *saeculum* of a hundred and ten years is usually associated with the Augustan celebration of the *ludi*. In it the Latins are commanded to sing paeans and to lead choruses of boys and girls whose fathers and mothers are living.²⁸ At the end of the oracle the promise is made that, if the memory of the games does not die out, all the Italian land and all the land of the Latins will remain beneath the Roman yoke.²⁹

The internal evidence of these documents would lead us to believe that the secular games were a joint celebration of Romans and Latins. If such was the case, they must have originated before the dissolution of the Latin league in 338. The prayer for the obedience of the Latins would seem to indicate a period in the history of the league when Rome was claiming sovereignty over her Latin allies and was at the same time fearful about their loyalty. That was emphatically the case in the later years of the league. Rome was weakened by the Gallic raids, and her allies, who resented the long years of service against Veii, began to break away. But Rome was insistent upon her sovereignty over the Latins. In the second treaty with Carthage concluded in 348³⁰ she claimed dominion over the entire Latin coast from the Laurentian territory to Terracina and distinguished between the Latin cities which were and those which were not subject to her. At this time Rome was very anxious about the loyalty of the Latins who were already making plans for a joint revolt. Livy's record shows that in 349 great terror was aroused at Rome by a gathering of the Latins who defied the Roman demand for troops.³¹

²⁸ II. 18-20.

καὶ ἀειδόμενοι τε Λατῖνοι
παιᾶνες κούρουσι κόρησι τε νῆδον ἔχουεν
ἀθανάτων.

²⁹ II. 36-38.

ταῦτά τοι ἐν φρεσὶν ᾗσιν ἀεὶ μεμνημένος εἶναι,
καὶ σοι πᾶσιν χθῶν Ἰταλὴ καὶ πᾶσα Λατίνων
αἰὲν ὑπὸ σκώπτροισιν ἐπανχέριον ζυγὸν ἔξει.

³⁰ Polybius III, 24. For convenience I have used the Varronian dates, though they are about four years too early.

³¹ Livy VII, 25. Inter hos longe maximus extitit terror concilia populorum Latinorum ad lucum Ferentinae habita responsumque haud

We should then from this internal evidence in the documents date the origin of the *ludi saeculares* between the institution of *ludi scaenici* in 364 and the dissolution of the Latin league in 338. It may be urged that Capito in putting together the details of the *ludi saeculares* freely combined ancient ceremonies, and that neither the ancient *ludi scaenici* nor the prayer belong originally to them. But Varro seems to have regarded the *ludi saeculares* as an early form of scenic games, for he discussed them in the first book of his *de scaenicis originibus* (Censorinus 17, 8). Valerius Maximus, who may depend on Varro, includes the *ludi saeculares* among *ludi scaenici* and gives his account of them immediately after his description of the origin of the *ludi scaenici*.³² There is also literary evidence, which has been neglected, for the connection of the secular games with revolts of the Latins. Phlegon introduces his quotation of the secular oracle with the words: "Inasmuch as the allies and friends of the Roman people were not keeping to their agreement, but were constantly rebelling and making war on them, the Sibyl predicted that after these games had been celebrated, the Latins who had revolted would be brought to submission."³³ Phlegon, a freedman of Hadrian, deserves more consideration than he has had, for, however lacking he may have been in discrimination, he had access in an age of antiquarian lore to valuable sources, and he had an interest in Roman festivals which he discussed in a special work.³⁴ Now that the prayer for the sub-

ambiguum imperantibus milites Romanis datum, absisterent imperare iis, quorum auxilio egerent; Latinos pro sua libertate potius quam pro alieno imperio laturus armæ.

³² Val. Max. II, 4, 5. Et quia ceteri ludi ipsis appellationibus unde trahantur apparet, non absurdum videtur saecularibus initium suum, cuius [generis] minus trita notitia est, reddere. It has been the general opinion that Valerius Maximus took the account of the *ludi saeculares* from Varro, of whom he elsewhere made considerable use. The account of the origin of the drama probably comes from the same source, and the most obvious one is Varro's *de scaenicis originibus*. But for the view that Valerius Maximus and Livy represent a pre-Varronian tradition see Hendrickson, *A. J. P.* XIX (1898) 285 ff.

³³ τῶν γὰρ συμμάχων αὐτῶν καὶ κοινῶν μὴ ἐμμενόντων ταῖς συνθήκαις, ἀλλὰ πικρὰ μεταβαλλομένοι καὶ πολέμοιόντων αὐτοῖς, ἡ Σίβυλλα ἐχρησμάδισην ἐπιτελεσθεῖσάν τῳ θεοῦ τούτων ἐποταγῆσθαι τοὺς ἀφειστώτας Λατίνους.

³⁴ Phlegon in the *περὶ θαρμασίων* and the *περὶ μακροβίων* depends on some of the same excellent authorities used by the Elder Pliny in Book

mission of the Latins has been found, his statement about the origin of the games can no longer be disregarded. If the *ludi* and the prayer are ancient, it is probable that the rest of the complicated ritual was based on priestly records, and that Capito did not invent them but simply interpreted where they were scant and inadequate.³⁵

The republican tradition for the origin of the *ludi saeculares* needs to be reconsidered in the light of this evidence. The games were associated with the legends of the Valerian family. According to an account fully given by Valerius Maximus and by Zosimus, they were introduced by Valerius Publicola at a spot called Tarentum in the Campus Martius where an ancestor of his, the Sabine Valesius, found an underground altar and performed sacrifices to Dis and Proserpina which brought about the recovery of his children from a severe illness. Valesius is a purely legendary figure and Valerius Publicola is a figure in whom legend and fact are hard to separate. Neither Publicola's first consulship in 509 when Zosimus and Valerius Maximus place his secular games nor his fourth in 504 when Plutarch (*Publicola* 21) says he celebrated games to Dis can be related to the other dates at which secular games were said to have been celebrated. The dates at which secular games are recorded in the republic are 348,³⁶ 249, and 149, or more properly 146, a

VII. Pliny's list there includes both Varro and Verrius Flaccus. The correspondence in detail between Zosimus and Verrius Flaccus on the secular games suggests that Verrius, perhaps through Phlegon's work on festivals, may have been the source of Zosimus' account. Suetonius' work on *spectacula* may be the source of Censorinus' account.

³⁵ The elaborate preparations for the *districutio suffimentorum* and the *frugum acceptio* which preceded the games would have had to be established. The technical language in the accounts of offerings also perhaps shows the special interest of Capito who wrote a work on sacrifices from which Festus quotes details about victims (p. 274, l. 24 and 30; 358, l. 28 L.). The Augustan tablets with the account of the ritual were probably written by Capito, while the Severan tablets, which differ in language though not in essential details of the ritual, were perhaps composed by a specialist in divine law of the Severan age.

³⁶ There is a tradition of a fourth-century celebration which depends entirely on a corrupt note in Eusebius' chronicle on the 1565th year of Abraham. It is represented in Hieronymus by the words *Romae clario agone centenarius primum actus* (under Abraham 1564). See R. Helm, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, I, p. 112; II, p. 336. According to Momm-

series which indicates a *saeculum* of a hundred years, not a hundred and ten, as Verrinus states, but allows for a certain irregularity such as could be paralleled in the celebration of modern centennials. Of these dates the most fully attested is 249, recorded as if it were a new institution by Varro as he is quoted by Censorinus,⁸⁷ Verrinus Flaccus in the passage already discussed, and Zosimus (II 4, 1), and also mentioned, as Censorinus states, by Livy⁸⁸ and Valerius Antias. Modern scholars, who have found in 249 evidence for relations between Rome and Tarentum in Magna Graecia which would explain the importation of rites from the Greek city, have been practically unanimous in accepting this date for the origin of the games and in placing then the foundation of the altar of Dis and Proserpina with which the rites are associated by most of the sources.

Scholars have recently been inclined to reject the evidence for the celebration of 348, assuming since Livy makes no mention of it in his narrative and since a Valerius was consul then that it was an invention of Valerius Antias bent on glorifying the Valerii.⁸⁹ The evidence for the celebration of 348 rests on frag-

sen, the 1565th year of Abraham corresponds to 449, when L. Valerius Publicola was consul, and the date is usually held to be a Valerian fiction arising from a confusion with the legend of P. Valerius Publicola's celebration. But the 1535th year of Abraham seems rather to correspond to 453. See O. Leuze, *Röm. Jahrzahlung*, 306. The note may refer to the games attributed to 456.

⁸⁷ D. N. 17, 8. Varro de scaenicis originibus libro primo ita scriptum reliquit: Cum multa portenta fierent, et murus ac turris, quae sunt inter portam Collinam et Esquilinam, de caelo tacta essent, et ideo libros Sibyllinos XV viri adissent, renuntiarent uti Diti patri et Proserpinae ludi Tarentini in campo Martio fierent tribus noctibus, et hostiae furvae immolarentur, utique ludi centesimo quoque anno fierent. The quotation from Verrinus Flaccus in note 14 which associates the portent mentioned here with the year 249 provides the means of dating this record. This is the only passage where the games are called *ludi Tarentini*.

⁸⁸ Cf. Livy, *Per.* 49. altero et sescentesimo ab urbe condita anno . . . ludi Diti patri ac Tarentum ex praecepto librorum facti, qui ante annum centesimum primo Punice bello, quingentesimo et altero anno ab urbe condita facti erant. For Livy's estimate of the length of the *saeculum* see also Censorinus 17, 9. Item T. Livius libro CXXXVI: Eodem anno ludos saeculares Caesar ingenti adparatu fecit, quos centesimo quoque anno (is enim terminus saeculi) fieri mos.

⁸⁹ See for instance Nilsson, *op. cit.*, 1700 ff.

mentary passages in Zosimus,⁴⁰ Festus, representing another statement of Verrius Flaccus,⁴¹ and Censorinus,⁴² the last authority quoting his statement from some one whose name is lost, probably Antias whom Censorinus quotes with Livy as his chief source for the history of the secular games. It is significant that both Zosimus and Verrius Flaccus, who describe the festival of 249 as a new institution, were familiar with precedents for the games of 348. Varro too, the other authority for the institution of the games in 249, may have known the tradition of the earlier date, for Augustine, whose antiquarian details are largely based on Varro, has a definite statement that the games instituted in the First Punic War were a renewal of earlier rites.⁴³

A method of reconciling the tradition which gives 249 for the institution of the festival and at the same time records an earlier celebration of the *ludi* was long ago suggested by Roth in an able analysis of the sources of the *ludi saeculares*,⁴⁴ but has found no acceptance among modern scholars. My explanation is very much like his. The Romans seem to have performed special

⁴⁰ Zosimus' account of the festival of 249 follows immediately upon the legend of Publicola's establishment of the games. Then comes a lacuna in the text after which are the words: Μάρκον Ποπίλιον (mss. ποπίλιον) τὸ τέταρτον ὑπατεύοντος. M. Popilius Laenas was consul for the fourth time with M. Valerius Corvus in 348.

⁴¹ P. 440 L. More than half the page is gone. After a reference to the Ara Ditis ac Proserpinae ad Tarentum in the Campus Martius, there apparently followed an account both of the legend of Publicola's establishment of the games (see Nilsson's argument, *l. c.*) and of the celebration of 249. Then come the words *nono* et *nonagensi* (mo anno ante M. Valerio Corvino et M.) Popilio Laenate (consulibus . . . ho)stis furvis est . . . (tribus diebus totidem)que noctibus. The statement about the *pestilentia* which follows the citation of Verrius quoted in n. 14 may also be a reference to the pestilence of 348.

⁴² 17, 10, following a lacuna, anno post urbem conditam octavo et quadringentesimo. See Nilsson, 1703-4.

⁴³ C. D. III, 18 where Augustine is speaking of the perils of the Punic wars. Tunc magno metu perturbata Romana civitas ad remedia vana et ridenda currebat. Instaurati sunt ex auctoritate librorum Sibyllinorum ludi saeculares, quorum celebritas inter centum annos fuerat instituta felicioribusque temporibus memoria neglegente perierat. Renovarunt etiam pontifices ludos sacros inferis et ipsos abolitos annis retrorsum melioribus. The passage seems to attribute two sets of ceremonies to the year 249, one set under the *decemviri*, one under the *pontifices*.

⁴⁴ *Rhein. Mus.* VIII (1853) 365-376.

ceremonies with *ludi scaenici* at a time of pestilence and fear in 348. When in 249, a period of great danger in the First Punic War, a section of the city wall was struck by lightning, the Sibylline Books ordered the repetition of the ceremonies of 348 and added the provision *ut centesimo quoque anno fierent* which led to the institution of the games as a standing festival. It may be added that the Romans usually had special celebrations of games before entering them in the calendar as standing festivals. That was true for instance of the *ludi maximi*, the *ludi plebei* and the *ludi Apollinares*.⁴⁵ The analogy of annual games may apply to secular games and Roth's suggestion deserves more consideration than it has had.

Moreover, if we leave for a later discussion the inconsistency in the gods honored and suppose that the Augustan festival was, as Verrius indicated, based on the precedents of an earlier celebration, we have in the prayer for the submission of the Latins strong support for the year 348 as the time when the festival originated. Such a prayer could not have been composed in the troubled times of the First Punic War when Rome was concerned not with the loyalty of the Latins but with a foreign foe from whom she had lately suffered severe reverses. We have seen that the early form of the *ludi scaenici* and the prayer, taken with the other evidence for the connections of the Latins with the secular games, indicate that the games originated between 364 and 338. 348 is the very year in this interval when we have in the treaty with Carthage the clearest indication of Rome's claim to sovereignty over the Latins and it is a time when the revolts of the Latins were giving special reason for anxiety. Furthermore Phlegon's association of the games with a revolt of the Latins fits this year and no other recorded celebration of the *ludi*.

There are indeed traces in Livy's narrative which may conceal some notice of the ceremony. Livy (VII 27) records in 348 a pestilence and a consultation of the Sibylline Books which ordered a *lectisternium*, the fourth to be celebrated in the history of the city. Now secular games were intended to avert pestilences,⁴⁶ and a *lectisternium* was, according to Valerius Maximus, associated originally with them.⁴⁷ Livy mentions no fur-

⁴⁵ See Wissowa, *R. K.*², 452-455.

⁴⁶ Zosimus, II. 1.

⁴⁷ II, 4, 5. See n. 13.

ther ceremonies, but it is possible that the oracles commanded special sacrifices and the repetition of *ludi scaenici* such as had been combined with the third *lectisternium* to avert the pestilence of 364. A reference to the pestilence may perhaps be discerned in the fact that the prayer provided for the *valetudo* as well as the *victoria* of the Roman people and the Roman legions.

It is even possible that it was from Tarentum in Magna Graecia that the gods peculiar to the festival, the Moerae, the Ilithyiae, and Mother Earth, were introduced at the time, not as possessors of a permanent cult but as objects of worship for this particular occasion. In the early republic Cumae had been the chief place from which Greek worships were brought in, but, since Cumae had come into the power of the Oscans in the late fifth century, its influence on Greek rites had waned. There is no evidence for any relations between Rome and Tarentum until twenty years after 348, but either the growing power of the Samnites, whose Lucanian kinsmen were a menace to the cities of Magna Graecia, or the Greek pirates who ravaged the shores of Latium in 349 and 348⁴⁸ may have led to some interchange of communications with Tarentum which was then the chief city of the Italiote league. If we knew more about the cults of Tarentum, the origin of the rites might be solved.

But if the Augustan secular games originated in 348, how are we to explain the association of Dis and Proserpina with the festival? I think it is here and not, as has been urged, in the invention of the festival of 348 that we have traces of the activity of Valerius Antias whom Censorinus mentions as one of his chief authorities on the history of the secular games. Both the *ludi saeculares* and the Ara Ditis et Proserpinae were associated with the Valerii, the former through the fact that the first celebration took place in 348 in the first consulship of M. Valerius Corvus, one of the great names of the great Valerian

⁴⁸ Livy VII, 25-7. Livy does not know who these Greeks were, but is disposed to think that they were tyrants of Sicily. 348 Varr. (345-4) corresponds with the period of Timoleon's occupation of Syracuse. Cf. Diod. XVI, 69, where however there is a transposition in the consuls of several years. The fleet may have been Timoleon's in opposition to the Carthaginians or perhaps, as De Sanctis suggests (*Storia dei Romani*, II, 265), Greek mercenaries set free when Dionysius' power broke.

house, the latter because its worship was said to go back to the Sabine Valesius, reputed ancestor of the house. Perhaps some Valerian family orator, with the *fallens mendacium* that characterized the funeral oration, is responsible for connecting the secular games with the family altar in the same region of the Campus where the games which also honored underworld divinities were held.⁴⁹ To a similar source may belong the tradition that Publicola celebrated the first festival. Plutarch's life of Publicola, which makes no mention of the secular games, provides indications of the way the confusion could have arisen. Plutarch says (ch. 21) that in Publicola's fourth consulship there was great terror in the city because all pregnant women had premature and imperfect births. Accordingly Publicola, by order of the Sibylline books, made expiatory sacrifices and celebrated games to Dis ("Αἰδης). These games are not *ludi saeculares* but *ludi Taurii*, said to have been instituted in honor of chthonic gods by Tarquinius Superbus quod omnis partus mulierum male cedebat.⁵⁰ In later times *ludi Taurii* are mentioned by Livy (XXXIX 22, 1) under the year 186 B. C., and are recorded in a fragmentary imperial inscription from Ostia.⁵¹ The confusion of these games with the *ludi saeculares* was an easy one, for they too were celebrated in the Campus Martius, apparently at the same season of the year as the *ludi saeculares*, and they also honored gods of the lower world. The claims of family orators may well have been passed on to posterity by Valerius Antias.

The rôle of Valerius Antias in the calculation of the *saeculum* may also explain some puzzles in Roman chronology. We know

⁴⁹ Perhaps Augustine's reference to the renewal by the *pontifices* of *ludi* to the *Di inferi* (see note 43) during the First Punic War may indicate that at the same time that the *ludi saeculares* were put on a permanent basis in 249 the *pontifices* restored a neglected celebration to Dis Pater. If that was the case, confusion would have been very easy. Dis Pater need not necessarily have been under the *Graecus ritus*. Unfortunately we have few details for religious *procuraciones* in the First Punic War, but such combinations of rites for Greek and Roman gods are attested from the Hannibalic war. Cf. Livy, XXII, 10.

⁵⁰ Serv. Dan. on *Aen.* II, 140. Cf. Paulus p. 479 L. See Altheim s. v. *Taurii ludi*, R. B.

⁵¹ C. I. L. XIV suppl. 4511; cf. L. Wickert, *Sitz. Ber. Berl. Akad., Phil. Hist. Kl.* 1928, 55 f. The inscription indicates that the games were celebrated either in late May or in June.

from Censorinus⁵² that, in opposition to the historians Piso, Cn. Gellius, and Cassius Hemina, who lived at the time of the festival, Valerius Antias, and after him Varro and Livy, clung to the date 149 instead of 146 for the second-century performance of the *ludi saeculares*, thus keeping to the hundred year *saeculum*. It may be suggested that his desire to date the consulship of Valerius Corvus as nearly as possible a hundred years before the well attested celebration of 249 is responsible for the insertion of the four dictator years 333, 324, 309, 301 in the consular *fasti*.⁵³ According to Livy's narrative, in which the dictators belong in each case to the preceding year, the consulship of Valerius Corvus was only ninety-five years before the celebration of 249, but the insertion of the dictator years brings the interval to ninety-nine years. Livy's more correct chronology, based on 750 as the date for the founding of Rome, was in accord with that adopted by the majority of Roman writers until the late republic. But after the appearance of Atticus' *Liber Annalis* written between 51 and 47, Cicero, who had previously accepted the year 750, adopted Atticus' date 753 for the founding of the city and followed his chronology in his later works. Atticus' dates were also accepted—some scholars hold that they were inspired—by Varro,⁵⁴ and were adopted in the consular *Fasti* inscribed under Augustus. Although the historians of the Augustan Age, Livy, Dionysius, and Diodorus, kept to the earlier chronology, the system of the consular *Fasti* passed into current use in the Empire, and in spite of the fact that the incorrectness of the so-called Varronian dates for the period before the war with Pyrrhus is generally recognized, it is still employed in modern times.

⁵² 17, 11. Antias enim et Varro et Livius relatos esse prodiderunt L. Marcio Censorino M'. Manlio Coss. post Romam conditam anno DCV. at Piso Censorius et Gn. Gellius, sed et Cassius Hemina, qui illo tempore vivebat, post annum factos tertium adfirmant Gn. Cornelio Lentulo L. Mummi Achaico Coss., id est anno DCVIII (mss. DCIII). Leuze's attempt to discredit this statement, *Philol.* LXVI, 549 ff. is not convincing.

⁵³ On the chronological problems presented by these years see Niese-Hohl, *Grundriss der röm. Gesch.* 94 ff.; *O. A. H.* VII, 321 ff.; Leuze, *Röm. Jahrzahlung*, 212 ff.

⁵⁴ For recent discussions of the relations between Varro and Atticus see Schanz-Hosius, *Röm. Literaturgeschichte*, I, 331.

My suggestion then is that Valerius Antias, depending on the legends of the Valerii, is responsible for the insertion of the dictator years, and that from him they were adopted by Atticus when he established the order of the magistrates in the *Liber Annalis*⁵⁵ and by Varro who, as we know, agreed with Valerius Antias in dating the second century celebration in 149. In the *Liber Annalis* as in earlier works Atticus showed his interest in the traditions of noble families, and it is likely that the Valerii, like the Claudii, the Cornelii, and the Junii, attracted his attention.⁵⁶ In a work whose chief interest was chronological he can hardly have failed to discuss a subject as important for chronology as the *saeculum*; he would have been the more interested in it because the regular time for the next celebration of the *ludi*—49 or 46—was at hand. Perhaps on that account he was disposed to accept the traditions of the Valerii which were available, probably accompanied by the false dictator years, in the *Annales* of Valerius Antias written a generation before.

The civil war made a celebration of the games impossible either in 49, a hundred years after the proper second century date, or in 46, which would have been a century after the actual occurrence,⁵⁷ but the coins of 45, on which the moneyer P. Valerius Aspiculus placed the symbols of the *saeculum*, show that the Valerii were keeping the celebration in mind. After the comet which appeared at Caesar's funeral games was interpreted as a sign of a new age, plans for a celebration of the festival seem to have been made. Various symbols of the *saeculum*, recently pointed out by Alföldi,⁵⁸ appeared on coins of the period, and the fourth eclogue seems to indicate that the celebration was to have been held in the consulship of Pollio in 40. Just how the date was calculated we do not know, but doubtless there

⁵⁵ Nepos, *Atticus*, 18, 1. in eo volumine . . . quo magistratus ordinavit. On the scope of Atticus' work see Münzer, *Hermes*, XL (1905) 50 ff.; Byrne, *Titus Pomponius Atticus* (Bryn Mawr 1920), 40 ff.

⁵⁶ Atticus was much interested in the candidacy of M. Valerius Messalla for the consulship of 53, and apparently had close contact with him. Cf. Cicero, *ad Att.* IV, 9; IV, 16, 6.

⁵⁷ Caesar returned from Thapsus too late for the proper time of the celebration, which was early June.

⁵⁸ *Hermes*, LXV (1930), 369 ff.

was some juggling such as we find in the Empire. Perhaps Varro's reckoning of the *saeculum* as a hundred and ten years had already gained currency, and the date was calculated from 149.⁵⁹ The variation of one year, like that between 348 and 249, was apparently not considered impossible in the date of the festival. The celebration did not take place, probably because civil war again made it impossible at the proper time in early June.⁶⁰ When Augustus more than twenty years later appealed to the college of *quindecimviri* to determine the time of the *ludi*, they accepted Varro's *saeculum* of a hundred and ten years and provided fictitious dates for four previous festivals.

But the Valerii were still active. Two members of the family, M. Valerius Potitus, probably brother of M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, and Messalla Messallinus, Corvinus' son, are listed among the priests in the Augustan *Acta*. Potitus is named third on the list after Agrippa and Q. Lepidus, and also presided at the circus games following the festival. He is thus given prominence in the celebration next to Augustus and Agrippa. Messalla Messallinus is last on the list, a young man whose election to the college of *quindecimviri* had lately been celebrated by Tibullus (II, 5). The influence of the Valerii probably explains a puzzle in the dating of the previous festivals which was determined by the college of *quindecimviri*. Instead of the series 457, 347, 237, 127 which would have been the natural antecedents for the year 17, they chose 456, 346, 236, and 126. The reason seems to be that there were no Valerian consuls in the first series and that Valerius Maximus and Valerius Corvus, both in the line of the Valerii from whom the Valerii Messallae claimed descent, were consuls in the first two years of the second series. It may be noted that this set of dates still associated the festival with Valerius Corvus, placing it in his second consulship instead of his first, two years earlier. Augustus for some reason held the celebration in 17, but an irregularity of one year seems, as we have seen, not to have been impossible.

This study has shown that the *ludi saeculares* of Augustus and Severus followed ancient precedents at least in the early

⁵⁹ On the irregularities of the calculation at this time see Mommsen, *Eph. Epigr.* VIII, p. 238, n. 1.

⁶⁰ See my *Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, 114 ff.

character of the scenic games and in the text of the prayer used and that the scenic games must have originated after 364 and the prayer before 333. From the fact that these details are ancient, it seems likely that the whole festival was based on an earlier celebration of the *ludi saeculares*. The ritual as we have it probably goes back to the celebration of the *ludi* for the Varronian year 348, a time when Rome was especially anxious about the loyalty of the Latins who are named in the prayer and was also suffering from a pestilence such as *ludi saeculares* were supposed to avert. It is at least possible that the rites were introduced in that year from Tarentum in Magna Graecia, though the name Tarentum or Terentum for the place where the games were celebrated is still of doubtful origin. It was not until 249 that provision was made for the regular repetition of the games every hundred years. The date 249, which modern authorities accept for the institution of the games, is then the proper one for the formal inclusion of the *ludi saeculares* in the cult of the state, but the *ludi* of that year were a repetition of those celebrated in the consulship of Valerius Corvus ninety-five years before (248 Varr.). The connection of the *ludi saeculares* with the altar of Dis and Proserpina in the Campus Martius probably had no basis in fact but depended on traditions of the Valerii as they were made known by Valerius Antias. Antias' desire, also in accord with Valerian traditions, to have the celebrations of the *saeculum* as nearly as possible a hundred years apart may be responsible for the puzzling insertion of the four dictator years which have created confusion in the dates of the century before Pyrrhus. Later, when the *quindecimviri* were called upon to fix the dates for Augustus' festival, based on a *saeculum* of a hundred and ten years, the influence of the two Valerii in their body may have led them to accept as dates for previous festivals a series of years which opened with two dates in which members of their family held the consulship.

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ON THE COMPOSITION OF XENOPHON'S *HELLENICA*.

PART I.

[E. Müller and Hatzfeld divide Xenophon's *Hellenica* at II, 3, 10 into two parts, composed, as they think, at different times. In this paper, further evidence for this theory is presented. Arguments of those who uphold the unity of the *Hellenica*, and of those who divide the *Hellenica* at II, 4, 43 and at V, 1, 36 are criticized. Exception is taken to the theory that III-V, 1, 36 was written before I-II.]

Most scholars who have studied Xenophon's *Hellenica* are convinced that the work was not written continuously from start to finish. There is a general disposition to separate the *Hellenica* into divisions, written, it is believed, at different periods of Xenophon's literary activity. It is true that there have always been supporters of the unitarian position. But it cannot be maintained that in recent years the trend of scholarship has been running in this direction. For while this position has recently been upheld by Gautier¹ (writing in 1911), Rapa-port² (1924), and Marschall³ (1928), it has been opposed by Brownson⁴ (1918), Münscher⁵ (1920), Rossberg⁶ (1923), Gemoll⁷ (1925), Horr⁸ (1926), Fräulein Vorrenhagen⁹ (1926), Pohlenz¹⁰ (1927), Puntoni¹¹ (1929), Hatzfeld¹² (1930), and De Sanctis¹³ (1932). The separatists are greatly at variance among themselves. Some divide the *Hellenica* into two parts, others into three or even more. Also, there is much disagreement over the location of the actual points of division.

The present writer feels that the evidence points to these con-

¹ *La Langue de Xénophon*, 133.

² *Eos* 27 (1924), 19-22.

³ *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Werke Xenophons*, 12.

⁴ *Xenophon's Hellenica*, VIII-IX, in the Loeb Classical Library.

⁵ *Xenophon in der gr.-röm. Lit.*, 6.

⁶ *Xenophons Hellenika*, XV-XVI.

⁷ *Phil. Woch.* (1925), 945.

⁸ *Quaest. ad Xen. Hell. pertinentes*.

⁹ *De orationibus quae sunt in Xen. Hell.*, 1 ff.

¹⁰ *Gr. Lit.* 103, in Gercke-Norden, *Einl. in die Altertumswissenschaft*.

¹¹ *Le Storie Elleniche*, XXXVIII-XXXIX. Puntoni's statements are guarded, but he seems not to favor the unitarian position.

¹² *Rev. de Phil.* LVII (1930), 113-27, 209-26.

¹³ *Annali della r. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* (1932), 1-21.

clusions: 1), the *Hellenica* consists of two parts; 2), the division is at II, 3, 10, where Xenophon concludes his account of the Peloponnesian War; 3), a considerable extent of time passed between the writing of the two parts; 4), the part that comes first in our *Hellenica* is the part that was written first. These points are all controversial.

This theory of the *Hellenica's* composition was proposed by E. Müller¹⁴ in 1856, and was reaffirmed by Hatzfeld¹⁵ in 1930. It is not the most popular theory, though. Honors in this respect must be granted to the tripartite theory. Therefore it seems justifiable to add to the extensive literature on the *Hellenica*, especially since there is some evidence for the bipartite theory which apparently has not yet been brought forward.

The *Hellenica* seemingly was written by Xenophon as a sequel to Thucydides' unfinished history. Without preface or introduction of any sort, Xenophon begins abruptly with the words *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα* where *ταῦτα* evidently is intended to refer to the last events recorded by Thucydides. The connection with Thucydides' book is very loosely made.¹⁶ Characters in the *Hellenica* do not appear where Thucydides left them; and the location of the first naval battle mentioned in the *Hellenica* cannot be determined from any words of Thucydides or of Xenophon. We are not warranted in supposing, with some scholars, that anything has been lost from the end of the eighth book of Thucydides or from the beginning of the *Hellenica*. For Xenophon is notoriously careless in matters of detail. A single illustration of this carelessness may be given here.¹⁷ In *Hell.* I, 3 the Athenians invest Calchedon, but do not capture it. In II, 2, 1 we read that Calchedon submits to Lysander after the battle of Aegospotami. This statement is incomprehensible unless we assume that the Athenians have previously captured the city on some occasion not mentioned by Xenophon. With this example before us, which is only one of a number that could be cited, we may

¹⁴ *De Xen. hist. gr. parte priore*.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.* Hatzfeld makes II, 3, 9 the point of division. This is equivalent to the usual II, 3, 10; for § 10 and the last part of § 9 are an interpolation.

¹⁶ For a more complete account of this matter cf. Underhill, *A Commentary on the Hellenica of Xenophon* (1900), XVI, ff.

¹⁷ On this subject cf. Underhill, *op. cit.*, XXII-XXIII, XXVII-XXIX, XXXI-XXXII.

realize that the inexact junction with Thucydides is perfectly characteristic of Xenophon's work.

The most casual reader of the *Hellenica* cannot fail to discern a great change in the character of the work as he proceeds through it. The dry, meager narrative of the beginning is transformed, in the later books, into a vigorous story, full of life and color, abounding in picturesque detail. There are, to be sure, one or two unusually fine passages in the early part, notably the description of Athens on the night when the disaster of Aegospotami became known. Here Xenophon gives some indication of what we may expect in the latter part of the *Hellenica*. But by and large, the first part of the *Hellenica* is written on a dead level of unrelieved dulness and monotony. The difference in tone and spirit between the early and the late books of the *Hellenica* is universally realized, but variously explained. It is sometimes suggested that Xenophon was not particularly interested in the events of 411-404, whereas the later history made a greater appeal to him, as being more the history of his own time; and it is for this reason that his narrative in the latter part of the *Hellenica* loses the perfunctory character of the beginning. These suppositions, to be sure, do offer an explanation of this difference between the earlier and the later books of the *Hellenica*. But there are many other differences as well; and these differences are not explainable by the assumption of a heightened interest on Xenophon's part in the events that he relates. There is, however, one fundamental hypothesis on which we can base explanations of all the differences that have been observed. This is the supposition that the latter part of the *Hellenica* was written a certain number of years after the earlier part. We may believe that when Xenophon composed the first part of the *Hellenica*, he was just beginning his career as a writer. He was still inexperienced in literary composition, and he had not yet learned how to tell a story. It seems probable that before the later books of the *Hellenica* were written, Xenophon had composed the *Anabasis*; ¹⁸ and in writing the *Anabasis* Xenophon mastered once and for all the narrator's art. The most inexperienced, one might almost say the most uninspired writer, after living through the dramatic excitement of Cyrus' expedition and the retreat of the Ten Thousand could hardly have failed to write

¹⁸ Cf. Hatzfeld, *op. cit.*, 224.

brilliantly and vividly of these stirring events. The *Anabasis* is a masterpiece of narration; it could scarcely have been otherwise. After serving this literary apprenticeship, Xenophon found himself able to write history with all the vividness of description that characterizes the later part of the *Hellenica*, whether or not he possessed an eye-witness' first-hand acquaintance with the events of his narrative.¹⁹

It is time to point out some more of the differences between the early and the late parts of the *Hellenica* that have already been observed. E. Müller, *op. cit.*, points out that: 1) the annalistic method is used by Xenophon as far as II, 3, 10, and is generally abandoned thereafter; 2) the summaries of Persian and Sicilian affairs do not appear after II, 3, 10 (these summaries, we must add, are usually regarded as interpolations); 3) the practice of mentioning sacrifices before battle begins after II, 3, 10;²⁰ 4) the numbers of casualties, and of ships and men engaged are given exactly before II, 3, 10, but usually in round numbers after this point (we may note exceptions in I, 2, 18; III, 4, 14; IV, 3, 1; V, 4, 40); 5) Xenophon indulges in no expressions of praise or censure until after II, 3, 10; 6) anecdotes and conversations that bring into vivid relief the deeds and characters of men are not found before II, 3, 10; 7) after II, 3, 10 there is no indirect discourse such as we find in I, 1, 27; 4, 13 (has Müller overlooked III, 4, 20; VII, 1, 34 ff.; 3, 2; 4, 10; 4, 39?). On these grounds Müller divides the *Hellenica* into two parts at II, 3, 10. Now if these points of Müller's stood alone, it might be possible to regard them as a series of coincidences. But if they are taken in connection with a great many more differences, it begins to look as though what we have is not a series of accidents, but rather evidence of a changed literary technique, requiring for its consummation an interval of time. This belief will be strengthened when we see how many of these changes appear for the first time soon after II, 3, 10.

In some of the characteristic features that Müller has noted,

¹⁹ Hatzfeld, *op. cit.*, 226, emphasizes the influence of the *Anabasis* on Xenophon's style in the latter part of the *Hellenica*.

²⁰ B. G. Niebuhr, in *Rh. M.* I (1827), 194 ff. had previously called attention to the difference between the early and the late books of the *Hellenica* in this respect. He divided the *Hellenica* at the end of Book II into two separate parts.

the first part of the *Hellenica* bears resemblance to Thucydides' book. The annalistic mode of writing and the objectivity marked by the absence of praise and censure are reminiscent of Thucydides.²¹ In another respect, namely the attitude displayed towards the gods, the first part of the *Hellenica*, in contrast with the second, resembles the history of Thucydides. As scholars have long realized, Xenophon in the later books of the *Hellenica* shows a strong religious and moral bias. The gods are constantly depicted as ordering human affairs, and as intervening to bring about the punishment of the unrighteous. In the early part of the *Hellenica* there is hardly a trace of this to be found.²² This tendency to disregard the possibility of divine influence in human affairs is, of course, very much after the manner of Thucydides.

Naturally the question arises whether we should suppose that Xenophon wrote consciously under the influence of his predecessor. An emphatically affirmative answer to this question is given by Bruns.²³ This scholar maintains that Xenophon took over certain stylistic principles from Thucydides, who had prohibited himself from rendering subjective judgments on his characters, and had allowed himself to record only historically important events; these principles, however, were so unnatural to Xenophon that he violated them constantly. We may remark that most of these so-called violations of principle occur after II, 3, 10. According to Bruns, *Hell.* II, 3, 56 proves that Xenophon felt bound by a Thucydidean law against subjective estimate; Bruns's argument is that Xenophon apologizes here for an infraction of this law. Now it will be immediately obvious to anyone who reads this passage carefully that Xenophon makes no apologies whatever for the subjective judgment that he passes on Theramenes. The same thing is true of *Hell.* V, 1, 3-4, where Bruns would see an apology for Xenophon's personal estimate of Teleutias, and Römpler²⁴ shows, moreover, that Thucydides himself was bound by no inviolable rule against subjective estimate,

²¹ In objectivity, Xenophon in the first part of the *Hellenica* really surpasses Thucydides.

²² But cf. I, 7, 33, and possibly I, 6, 11; 7, 19. •

²³ *Das literarische Porträt der Griechen* (1896), 35-45.

²⁴ *Studie über die Darstellung der Persönlichkeit in den Geschichtswerken des Thuk. u. Xen.* (1898), 33.

witness the characterizations of Themistocles (Thuc. I, 138), of Nicias (VII, 86), and of Antiphon (VIII, 68).

There is no doubt that Bruns has put his case for Thucydidean influence on Xenophon in terms which are too hard and fast. None the less, his observations contain an element of truth. What Bruns calls a "law of style" might be much better described as a "tendency". We can hardly picture Xenophon as saying to himself, "These are laws of Thucydides, this I may, that I may not do." It is natural to suppose, however, that he studied Thucydides' book with some care before writing its continuation. Such a careful study might reasonably be expected to bring some influence to bear on Xenophon's manner of writing, particularly if the first part of the *Hellenica* is one of his earliest works. We need not suppose that this influence led to the formulation of any definite laws. This influence is attested by the objectivity of *Hell.* I-II, 3, 10, by the annalistic style, and by the neglect of the gods as a controlling factor in the affairs of human history. The changes in these respects that come after II, 3, 10 are readily understood if we assume an interval of time between the composition of the two parts of the *Hellenica*, during which time Xenophon's individuality as a writer has become more fully developed.

Many scholars have undertaken exhaustive studies of Xenophon's language, and have compiled statistics on the occurrence of various words and phrases in his several works. Dittenberger²⁵ investigated the particle $\mu\eta\nu$. In early Attic prose $\mu\eta\nu$ appears very infrequently, but it becomes more common as time goes on. From his study of Xenophon's use of $\mu\eta\nu$ Dittenberger separates the works into four chronologically distinct groups. Dittenberger places *Hell.* I-II, 3, 10 in the first group, where $\mu\eta\nu$ is entirely lacking; he assigns *Hell.* II, 3, 11-V, 1, 36 to the third group, where $\mu\eta\nu$ is used with moderate frequency; and classifies the balance of the *Hellenica* with the fourth group, where $\mu\eta\nu$ occurs with great frequency. These three sections of the *Hellenica*, which Dittenberger believes were composed at different times, may conveniently be designated as *Hell.* A, *Hell.* B, and *Hell.* C.

A further study of Xenophon's particles was made by

²⁵ *Die Chronologie der Platonischen Dialoge*, in *Hermes* 16 (1881), 330 ff.

Roquette.²⁶ Certain particles, used very sparingly at the beginning of the *Hellenica*, become very common in the later books. Roquette's study led him to accept Dittenberger's threefold division of the *Hellenica* at II, 3, 10 and V, 1, 36.

Other statistical studies were made by Rosenstiel,²⁷ Simon,²⁸ and Sauppe.²⁹ All three came to the conclusion that a division of the *Hellenica* must be made at II, 3, 10; and Rosenstiel and Simon consider Dittenberger's second division at V, 1, 36 as established; Sauppe admits the possibility, but not the certainty, of a break at V, 1, 36.

R. Mueller³⁰ made a study of certain military words and phrases in the *Hellenica*, and found evidence for a break in the composition at II, 3, 10. Convinced by Nitsche's arguments,³¹ Mueller believes that V, 1, 36 is a second point of division, and so he agrees with Dittenberger's tripartite theory of composition. Mueller finds that the military language of *Hell. A* differs in many respects from that of *Hell. B*. In these respects *Hell. A* follows the usage of Thucydides. The deviations of *Hell. B* from the Attic standard of *Hell. A* and of Thucydides are found by Mueller to be characteristic of the *Arabasis* and the *Cyropaedia*. Mueller's results seem significant. If the language of *Hell. A* is more purely Attic, and if Doric usages, avoided in *Hell. A* appear in *Hell. B*, it is natural to suppose that *Hell. B* was written later, after Xenophon had been living for some time at Scillus and had been out of touch with Athens for a number of years.³²

²⁶ *De Xenophontis Vita* (1884).

²⁷ *De Xen. Hist. Gr. parte bis edita* (1882).

²⁸ *Xenophon-Studien I* (1887).

²⁹ *Nachr. d. k. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Gött.* (1882), 297-308.

³⁰ *Quaest. Xen. Cap. Duo* (1907).

³¹ Cf. a later section (to be published in Part II), where the arguments of various scholars for a break at V, 1, 36 are considered.

³² E. Richter, in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* (1909), 2652 ff., reviewing Mueller, comes to a different conclusion. Richter thinks it probable that all of Xenophon's works are to be dated after 371, and consequently he believes that Peloponnesian associations during Xenophon's banishment would produce Dorisms in Xenophon's early literary ventures. Richter accordingly supposes that *Hell. I-II*, 3, 10 with its purer Attic style, was written later than *Hell. II*, 3, 11-V, 1, 36. (See Part II for further discussion of this point.) This assumption of

The conclusions of the statisticians have not been universally accepted. J. J. Hartman,³³ in a famous tirade, waxes satirical at the expense of these investigators. Hartman's extravagant statements scarcely require formal refutation; a rebuttal, however, is ably provided by R. Mueller, *op. cit.*, 9 ff.

A much saner criticism of the statistical method comes from E. Schwartz.³⁴ He believes that the *Hellenica* was written continuously, as a unit, near the end of Xenophon's life. The differences between the first and the last books of the *Hellenica* do not indicate to Schwartz the passage of any considerable extent of time. They merely show that Xenophon did not polish the whole work into a state of uniformity. Schwartz remarks that any writer's style will change and develop in the course of an extensive work, and that when certain words, turns of expression, forms of sentences once get into a writer's mind, their influence is strong enough to cause repetitions, even in the case of a most careful stylist. Now in these observations of Schwartz there is a good deal of common sense. It seems certain, for one thing, that we must give up the attempt to separate *Hell. B* from *Hell. C* on the basis of the statistical differences that have been observed. Some tendencies and peculiarities already noticeable in *Hell. B* do become more marked and more frequent in *Hell. C*.³⁵ But a stylistic development of this sort would not require a long extent of time. The influence of habit, emphasized by Schwartz, will account for most of the differences between *Hell. B* and *Hell. C*. However, the stylistic differences between *Hell. A* and the rest of the work are so very marked, and they begin with such abruptness after II, 3, 10, that the influence of habit or of chance seems hopelessly inadequate to account for all the changes that manifest themselves. For a reasonable estimate of the worth of statistics we may turn to Hatzfeld, *op. cit.*, 217 ff. Statistics, he warns, must be handled with care. A considerable extent of text and a considerable number of instances must be involved, or else we may have

Richter's that Xenophon's literary activity begins as late as 371 (when Xenophon was at least sixty years old) may well be doubted.

³³ *Analecta Xenophontea* (1887), 35-54.

³⁴ *Rh. M.* XLIV (1889), 161-93.

³⁵ This fact is well emphasized by Hatzfeld, *op. cit.*, 220 ff.

merely a chance coincidence or a purely temporary and deliberate abandonment of ordinary stylistic habits for the sake of producing a particular effect. Stylistic differences between two parts of a work authorize the assumption of an intervening space of time only if the differences are sudden. In other words, the figures for the end of the one part and for the beginning of the other must differ to a marked degree.³⁶ Subject to these restrictions, the statistical method, in Hatzfeld's opinion, is a proper instrument of research. Hatzfeld finds in the statistics adequate reasons for a twofold division of the *Hellenica* at II, 3, 10. He sees no evidence for a second break at V, 1, 36. These conclusions seem perfectly sound.

The table on page 130 contains what may be regarded as the most significant results that the statisticians have so far produced.³⁷ A good many scholars believe that the first part of the *Hellenica* ends at the close of book II, and not II, 3, 10. Therefore the section II, 3, 10-II, 4, 43 has been tabulated separately. The table³⁸ shows clearly that the differences between the two parts of the *Hellenica* begin after II, 3, 10. The evidence of the statistics points unmistakably to a break here rather than at the end of book II. After V, 1, 36 there seems to be no abrupt change, but only a gradually increasing development of tendencies already noticeable.

There are some more stylistic differences between *Hell.* A and the rest of the work which, to the best of my knowledge, have escaped the notice of the statisticians. The evidence from all these differences falls in line with the results that have already been tabulated, in that one and only one point of division in the *Hellenica's* composition, occurring at II, 3, 10, is strongly indicated.

³⁶ Hatzfeld's strictness in regard to the legitimate use of statistics may possibly be modified to this extent: after such a large number of sudden changes has been discovered that mere chance becomes an unsatisfying explanation, we may perhaps consider some of the more gradual changes as confirmatory evidence for a division of the work.

³⁷ For the statistics on military words and phrases compiled by R. Mueller, the reader is referred to this scholar's work, *cf.* h. 30.

³⁸ The figures of the table refer to the actual number of occurrences. To weight them properly, the ratios 2 : 1 : 4 : 5½ should be applied (*cf.* column 1).

<i>Hell.</i> I, 1, 1-II, 3, 10	42	Pages in Hude's edition
<i>Hell.</i> II, 3, 11-II, 4, 43	21	
<i>Hell.</i> III, 1, 1-V, 1, 36	88	
<i>Hell.</i> V, 2, 1-VII, 5, 27	116	
	47	μήτ
	49	καί . . . δέ
	14	ἄτε
	56	ὥστε
	43	αὖ
	110	μέντοι
	63	γε
	125	δή
	4	τρόπαιον ἱστάναι ³⁹
	10	τρόπαιον ἱστασθαι
	3	ἔπεσθαι
	43	ἀκολουθεῖν
	6	μετά ταῦτε (τοῦτο) ⁴⁰
	35	ἐκ τούτου (τούτων)
	44	Future Optative
	51	Rhetorical questions ⁴¹
	46	Anaphora

Often, after completing a bit of narration, Xenophon adds a sentence which says, in effect, "and that's that". For example, Xenophon finishes his account of Theramenes' death and then remarks, "In this way, then, Theramenes died," *Θηραμένης μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἀπέθανεν*, II, 4, 1. Frequently at the end of a speech we find a phrase like *ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν*, "This is what he said". With these sentences Xenophon sums up and rounds off one subject, and pauses momentarily before proceeding with the next topic. These sentences are usually very short, they generally contain a demonstrative word (such as *οὕτως* in the foregoing example), and they are very frequently introduced by *μὲν δὴ*. They occur in *Hell. A* once, in *Hell. B* and *C* 49 times.⁴²

³⁹ The ordinary Attic idiom is *ιστάναι*, not *ιστασθαι* cf. Proksch, in *Philol.* XXXVIII (1879), 185-86. The recurrence of *ιστάναι* in *Hell. C* after its absence in *Hell. B* is in accordance with Xenophon's tendency, noted by several scholars, to react in *Hell. C* against some of the non-Attic usages of *Hell. B*. There is not enough evidence to justify our separating *Hell. C* from *Hell. B*, but it may be suggested with plausibility that the composition of the last part of the *Hellenica* was extended over a good many years, cf. Hatzfeld, *op. cit.*, 226.

^{39a} We disregard the intransitive *ἔστηκε* III, 5, 19; IV, 4, 8.

⁴⁰ In this respect *Hell. A* resembles Thucydides' history where *μετὰ ταῦτα* occurs constantly (thirteen times in book I alone) and *ἐκ τούτου* is not found.

⁴¹ Wissmann, *De gen. dic. Xen.* (1888) finds that certain rhetorical figures are used sparingly in *Hell. A*, and more freely in *Hell. B* and *C*. He uses this result not to confirm Dittenberger's tripartite theory, which he accepts, but to support the theory that *Hell. A* is an epitome of Xenophon's work, an altogether untenable theory (cf. Hatzfeld, *op. cit.*, 126, n. 2). Two of the figures that Wissmann studies, rhetorical question and anaphora, really do point to a marked stylistic difference between *Hell. A* and the rest of the work. Rhetorical questions become much more frequent after II, 3, 10, and furthermore they now begin to appear in ordinary narrative (cf. III, 4, 18); in *Hell. A* their use is confined to passages of direct quotation.

⁴² II, 2, 4; 3, 20; 3, 35; 4, 1; 4, 22; III, 1, 1; 2, 19; 2, 31; 3, 2; 3, 11; 5, 16; 5, 24; 5, 25; IV, 1, 4; 1, 34; 1, 39; 2, 1; 2, 16; 2, 17; 2, 18; 2, 23; 3, 16; 5, 18; 7, 1; 8, 1; 8, 19; 8, 31; V, 1, 1; 1, 18; 1, 22; 2, 7; 2, 10; 3, 18; 3, 25; 4, 33; 4, 61; VI, 1, 1; 1, 17; 1, 19; 2, 8; 2, 39; 4, 5; 4, 12; 4, 37; 5, 5; VII, 1, 12; 1, 40; 3, 7; 5, 24; 5, 27. To sort out these sentences is a matter requiring some discrimination.* As an illustration of the care that is needed, consider two examples. Xenophon concludes an account of Iphicrates' campaigns with the statement *κάκεινος μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπραττεν* (VI, 2, 39). As the context shows, the

One quality of Xenophon's which is not always appreciated is an extremely versatile sense of humor. At times his humor is dry and quiet, very restrained and unobtrusive in character. With great economy of language, but with devastating effect, Xenophon describes Callias as the sort of man who was no less pleased to sing his own praises than he was to hear them sung by others (VI, 3, 3). In the original marshalling of forces before the battle of Nemea, the Boeotians were confronted by Lacedaemonians. Then a rearrangement took place, and the Boeotians found themselves facing Achaeans. Whereupon, in Xenophon's account, the Boeotians lost no time in declaring that the sacrifices were favorable, and in hastening the preparations for battle (IV, 2, 18). Then there is an altogether different sort of humor, the humor of extravagance and exaggeration. Apropos of a visit at the Great King's court, the envoy Antiochus observes that while he saw any number of cooks, butlers, and door-keepers, a careful examination failed to reveal any fighting men who would be a match for Greeks; and as for Persian wealth, it was all an exaggeration, and the famous golden plane-tree, by which they set such store, wouldn't provide shade enough for a grass-hopper (VII, 1, 38). In similar vein Xenophon ascribes to the lower classes at Sparta an unconcealed desire, at every mention of Spartiateæ, to eat these worthies raw (III, 3, 6). At times Xenophon's sarcasm breaks loose from all restraint, as when he tells how a Theban army, possessing every advantage of position and numbers, was attacked by Archidamus with a mere handful of Spartans, and how the fire-breath-

emphasis is all on *ταῦτα*; the sentence means, "these, then, were the achievements of Iphicrates." This is a sentence of the type now under consideration. With this, compare a sentence which superficially is very similar *καὶ οἱ αὖν τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν* (I, 6, 37). If these words are examined in their context, it will be seen that the emphasis is on *ἐποίησαν* rather than on *τοῦτ'*; that the force of the sentence is "They obeyed these commands," and not, "Such, then, were their actions." This sentence is obviously an integral part of the narrative; there is nothing stylistic about it; and so we do not count it as a representative of our present type. Most of the sentences that are counted add nothing of importance to the narrative and are not really essential to it. These considerations frequently proved useful in settling doubtful cases. Several border-line cases in *Hell.* B and C, however, have not been counted.

ing heroes, the victors of Leuctra, turned tail and fled (VII, 5, 12).

Xenophon leaves no doubt of his ability to appreciate to the full the ridiculousness of a situation. On one occasion the Argives went forth in great numbers and ravaged the territory of the tiny state of Phlius. The Argives had done their work in business-like fashion and were calmly marching home, when all of a sudden a troop of Phliasian cavalry, sixty strong, launched a surprise attack on the Argive rearguard, routed it, and actually killed a few men. After which the Phlians, in full sight of the Argives, set up a trophy with as much pomp and ceremony as though they had cut to pieces the whole invading force, a proceeding which the entire Argive army viewed with the utmost toleration (VII, 2, 4).

It may surprise the reader to find in the *Hellenica* a variant of the ancient witticism, "It's a wise child that knows his own father". In *Hell.* III, 3, 2 we have what amounts to the aphorism, "It's a wise father that knows his own child".

The pun, a form of humor more highly esteemed in an earlier day than now, is seldom to be found in the *Hellenica*. A play on words does occur, though, in VI, 5, 50, where certain marauders left the scene of their depredations *οἱ μὲν ἄγοντες, οἱ δὲ φέροντες, ὃ τι ἡπάκεισαν*.

Hell. A is practically devoid of humor. In I, 6, 15 we find an example, where Xenophon quotes what must have been a famous *bon mot* of Callicratidas, who sent word to Conon that he would put an end to his *μοιχῶντα τὴν θάλατταν*. After II, 3, 10 humor begins to appear more frequently. Consider II, 3, 12 where Xenophon records, in his dry way, how the prosecutions of the sycophants caused no distress to such of the citizens as had not engaged in sycophantic practices themselves; see also II, 3, 54 ff. where Critias uses the grim phrase *τὰ ἐκ τούτων* to describe the forthcoming execution of sentence upon Theramenes, and where the two jests of Theramenes are recorded; note the naïve informality of II, 4, 6; and again see II, 4, 10 for a typical bit of Xenophontine sarcasm, *ἦν δὲ ταῦτα* (i. e., the condemnation of the innocent Eleusinians) *ἀρεστὰ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οἷς τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν μόνον ἔμελεν*.

Humor may not seem a good subject for statistical representa-

tion. One person may see humor where another may see none, or where the author may have intended none. It might be best to say that there is practically no humor in *Hell.* A and plenty in the rest of the *Hellenica*, and to let it go at that; yet it will perhaps be more useful to enumerate the passages which caused this writer to smile; he trusts that he is not over-susceptible.⁴³ Once listed, these passages might as well be counted, thus: *Hell.* A, 1; *Hell.* B and C, 37.

There are many occasions where Xenophon allows himself to make the most painfully trite and obvious statements. He often succumbs to a tendency to indulge in heavy sententiousness and pious moralization.⁴⁴ This happens so many times that the reader wonders what has become of Xenophon's sense of humor. We find, for example, the weighty observation that in an uphill chase where the going is good, foot-soldiers are quickly overtaken by horsemen (V, 4, 54). In VI, 4, 21 Xenophon delivers himself of the reflection, apropos of Jason's rapid manœuvrings, that speed often accomplishes more than brute force. By way of moralization there is the well-known passage (V, 4, 1) which introduces the account of Sparta's downfall, "Now one could mention many other incidents, both among Greeks and

⁴³ I, 6, 15; II, 3, 12; 3, 54: 3, 55(2); 4, 6 (ἀνίσταντο ὅππῃ ἐδεῖτο ἕκαστος ἀπὸ τῶν ὁπλῶν, cf. VII, 1, 16); 4, 10; III, 1, 10 (Dercylidas, Thibron, and the allies); 1, 28 (εἰργασται); 2, 5 (conduct of the Odrysians); 2, 17 (δοῦναι δὲ καὶ ἔμενον, δῆλοι ἦσαν οὐ μενοῦντες—this whole episode is treated in a very sprightly manner); 3, 2; 3, 6; 4, 15 (ὥσπερ ἂν τις τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀποθανοῦμενον προθύμως ζητοίη); 4, 19 (ἡ εἰ γυναιξὶ δέοι μάχεσθαι); 4, 24 (the peltasts, ὥσπερ εἰκός, plundered); IV, 1, 24 οἱ αὖτε Φαρναβάζου κτήματα); 2, 18; 4, 17 (heavy Spartan witticism at the expense of their allies); 7, 2 ff. 'Agesipolis' expedition, cf. G. Friedrich, *Fleckeis. Jahrbh.* 147 (1893), 12); V, 2, 28 (Phoebidas characterized); 4, 4 (ἦσαν γὰρ τοιοῦτοι); 4, 5 (συμπροστυνόμενον ἐκείνου); 4, 6 (ταχύ); 4, 40 (ἐψέκσαν ὑποπεπωκόσι που ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ, cf. VI, 4, 8); VI, 2, 34 (μὴ μέμψεσθαι τὴν δέκην); 3, 3; 4, 8 (cf. V, 4, 40); 5, 50; VII, 1, 16 (cf. II, 4, 6); 1, 24 (the Arcadians and Lycomedes); 1, 38; 2, 4; 2, 10 (ὥσπερ ἀπὸ φίλου καρποῦ, κτλ.); 2, 15 (ὥσπερ ἐπὶ θέναν παραδεδραμηκότες); 4, 32 (panic of the Arcadians); 4, 37 (οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὐδὲν ὀργίζετο, ὥστις καὶ φέρετο ἀπολείσθαι); 5, 12.

⁴⁴ Xenophon's growing fondness for moralization in the later books of the *Hellenica* has often been noticed, but to the best of my knowledge no extensive collection of illustrative passages has been made heretofore.

barbarians, to prove that the gods do not fail to take heed of the wicked or of those who do unrighteous things; but at present I will speak of the case which is before me" (Brownson). These passages are distributed as follows: *Hell.* A, 2; *Hell.* B and C, 43.⁴⁵

It has often been observed that Xenophon does not appear in the *Hellenica* in the first person until after II, 3, 10 (cf. II, 3, 56). As far as I am aware, no statistics have been compiled in regard to this matter. In this respect the objectivity of *Hell.* A is in strong contrast with the subjectivity of *Hell.* B and C. The occurrences are: *Hell.* A, 0; *Hell.* B and C, 19.⁴⁶

A little mannerism that becomes increasingly frequent in the *Hellenica* is Xenophon's habit of placing some form of *εἰμί* or *ἔσται* first in its clause. This occurs as follows: *Hell.* A, 5; *Hell.* B and C, 50.⁴⁷

Hell. A shows a contrast with the rest of the work in respect to the use of similes and of metaphorical language. The distribution is: *Hell.* A, 2; *Hell.* B and C, 19.⁴⁸

No one who studies the speeches in the *Hellenica* can fail to be impressed with their wondrous subtlety of argumentation. Speakers display the greatest resourcefulness in making a case for themselves out of the most unpromising material. They

⁴⁵ Sentiments of this kind, very rare in *Hell.* A, are much more frequent in *Hell.* C than in *Hell.* B. However, by V, 1, 36 Xenophon's tendency in this direction has become so well established that we can hardly see evidence for a break in the composition at this point. The passages that illustrate this tendency are: I, 7, 21; 7, 27; II, 3, 29; 3, 56; III, 4, 18; 4, 19; IV, 1, 37; 4, 12; 5, 3; 8, 4; V, 1, 4; 1, 17; 2, 6; 2, 7; 2, 9; 2, 18; 3, 5; 3, 7; 3, 21; 3, 22; 4, 1; 4, 54; VI, 1, 16; 2, 19; 3, 6; 3, 9; 3, 10(3); 3, 11; 3, 15; 3, 16; 4, 21; 4, 23; 4, 35; 5, 41; VII, 1, 2; 1, 4; 1, 32; 2, 1; 3, 12; 4, 32; 5, 13; 5, 19; 5, 24.

⁴⁶ Cf. II, 3, 56; IV, 2, 16; 3, 16; 8, 1; V, 1, 4; 3, 7; 4, 1; VI, 1, 19; 2, 32; 2, 39; 4, 16; 5, 1; 5, 51; VII, 2, 1; 3, 4; 4, 1; 5, 8; 5, 19; 5, 27.

⁴⁷ Cf. I, 5, 5; 6, 37; 7, 35; II, 1, 14; 1, 15; 3, 41; 3, 42; 3, 51; 4, 10; 4, 22; III, 1, 7; 1, 9; IV, 1, 16; 1, 29; 2, 7(2); 3, 11; 3, 15; 3, 19; 4, 3; 4, 9; 7, 6; 8, 4; 8, 10; 8, 18; 8, 19; 8, 22; V, 1, 21; 2, 26; 3, 13; 4, 2; 4, 4; 4, 6; 4, 12; 4, 25; 4, 26; 4, 51; VI, 1, 3; 3, 2; 3, 3; 3, 14; 4, 8; 4, 10; 4, 14; 4, 15; 5, 24; 5, 32; VII, 1, 4; 1, 14; 1, 17; 2, 2; 2, 22; 4, 15; 4, 37; 5, 5.

⁴⁸ Cf. I, 4, 15; 6, 15; II, 3, 30; 3, 31; 3, 47; 4, 16; 4, 41; III, 2, 4; 2, 28; IV, 1, 25; 1, 33; 2, 11; 2, 12; 4, 12; 4, 17; 7, 5; 7, 6; V, 4, 40; VI, 3, 20; 5, 35; VII, 5, 23.

show an extraordinary ability to turn an apparently unfavorable situation to their own advantage; to argue on either side or both sides of a question, as expediency may dictate; to make τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω. There is none of this in *Hell. A*. There the speeches are simple and straightforward, without a trace of the rhetorical subtleties that characterize the speeches of *Hell. B* and *C*. The first instance that I find occurs in II, 3, 35. Theramenes is charged by Critias with the responsibility for the loss of shipwrecked sailors after the battle of Arginusæ, and is accused of instigating the subsequent prosecution of the eight generals. His defense may be condensed into this form: "I did not begin this matter by accusing the generals; they accused me first, saying that I failed to obey their orders to rescue the sailors. Now this accusation that the generals made against me was really an indictment of themselves. For I believed that no rescue could be attempted on account of the storm; whereas, by accusing me of negligence, they implied that they considered a rescue to be possible, despite the storm. And yet, feeling thus, they sailed away and left the men to perish." Other arguments of a kindred nature are to be found in II, 3, 44 (Critias actually helps the democrats); II, 4, 16 (even the front rank of the enemy will be at a disadvantage); II, 4, 17 (blessed are the survivors, blessed too are the casualties); III, 5, 10 (the very extensiveness of the Spartan empire makes for weakness); IV, 3, 4 (on loyalty to those in prosperity and in adversity); V, 1, 17 (on the glorious possibilities arising from an empty exchequer); VI, 5, 40 (reasoning of Procles regarding Athenian help for Sparta); VII, 3, 9 (Euphron's slaying defensible; his attempted bribery a baser crime than an attack with armed men); VII, 3, 10 (the scene of the slaying, *i. e.*, Thebes itself, no detriment to the slayers); VII, 5, 18 (meditations of Epaminondas, along the same general lines as II, 4, 17). If the passages of this sort are counted, it will be seen that their distribution is as follows: *Hell. A*, 0; *Hell. B* and *C*, 11.

Hell. A differs strikingly from the rest of the work in respect to the interest that Xenophon shows in the personalities and the characteristics of the people that come into his narrative. In *Hell. A* there seem to be only three passages (I, 1, 30-31; 4, 13-17; 6, 4) where any attempt is made to depict character or

to delineate personality. Xenophon deliberately avoids giving his own estimate of the people; they are characterized indirectly, as they are regarded by others. This is carefully specified. After II, 3, 10 there is a pronounced change. Characterizations become very much more frequent. More than this, Xenophon begins to assume the responsibility for them, sometimes directly, when he admits that the estimate is his own, and sometimes by implication, when he fails to state specifically that the views presented are held by others. Many of the characterizations are nothing more than a brief phrase. Cleocritus has a fine voice (II, 4, 20), Dercylidas is a great traveller (IV, 3, 2), Thrasybulus was considered a very fine man (IV, 8, 31). It is remarkable that little descriptions of this sort, so plentiful in *Hell. B* and *C*, are totally lacking in *Hell. A*. The figures for characterizations are: *Hell. A*, 3; *Hell. B* and *C*, 51. The occasions where Xenophon gives, as far as we can tell, his own personal views are: *Hell. A*, 0; *Hell. B* and *C*, 33.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ It is not always easy to tell what is a characterization and what is not. Obviously we must stop short of listing every descriptive adjective in the *Hellenica*. Frequently when we have trouble in determining whether a passage should be regarded as a characterization, we can come to a decision by considering whether the passage is essential to the narrative. For instance, Leontiades, the Theban polemarch, admits into his house the assassin Phillidas, believing him to be trustworthy (ἐκέλευσεν δὲ τὸν Φιλλίδα πιστὸν νομίζων εἰσιέναι, V, 4, 7). The words πιστὸν νομίζων are an essential part of the story. Their purpose is not to enlighten the reader as to Leontiades' views of Phillidas' integrity of character. They are intended to explain something that needs explaining, how Phillidas succeeded in making his way into the presence of Leontiades. Accordingly, we do not include this passage in our list. Also, we do not usually count as a characterization a passage which merely describes or judges a person's conduct on a particular occasion, such a passage, for example, as this: "Now when Tissaphernes, who was thought to have proved himself very valuable to the King in the war against his brother . . ." (Brownson, III, 1, 3). The following list comprises those passages where, in the present writer's estimation, Xenophon seems genuinely interested in portraying to the reader some aspects of the personalities of his characters. In the passages marked with an asterisk, Xenophon gives, as far as we can tell, his own personal opinions: I, 1, 30-31 (Hermocrates); 4, 13-17 (two views of Alcibiades); 6, 4 (Lysander and Callieratidas); II, 3, 23 (young men); 3, 27-33 (Theramenes, according to Critias); 3, 39 (Leon); 3, 47 (Critias, according to Theramenes); 3, 53 (the Thirty); 3, 54* (Satyrus); 3,

It will be seen from the following table that these stylistic differences begin suddenly after II, 3, 10, and that there is no convincing evidence for a break in the composition at V, 1, 36. The table is offered with some hesitation. As we have already explained, some of these stylistic features hardly would permit an absolutely accurate count. At times, subjective judgment entered into the making of the lists. However, a close approximation is adequate for our present purposes. Absolute mathematical exactness is not really necessary, and in fact is all but meaningless in the case of such a matter as humor, for example.

	Pages in Hude's edition	Concluding sentences of summation	Humor	Moralization and sententiousness	Xenophon in the first person	Initial <i>ἐμὲ</i> and <i>ἐγώ</i>	Similes and metaphors	Rhetorical subtleties	Characterizations (total)	Characterizations (direct)
<i>Hell.</i> I, 1, 1-II, 3, 10	42	1	1	2	0	5	2	0	3	0
<i>Hell.</i> II, 3, 11-II, 4, 43	21	4	6	2	1	5	5	4	8	3
<i>Hell.</i> III, 1, 1-V, 1, 36	88	25	13	8	4	18	10	3	13	11
<i>Hell.</i> V, 2, 1-VII, 5, 27	116	20	18	33	14	27	4	4	30	19

56* (Theramenes); 4, 20* (Cleocritus); III, 1, 8 (Dercylidas), 1, 14* (son of Mania); 3, 3* (Diopeithes); 3, 5* (Cinadon); 4, 29* (Peisander); IV, 1, 24* (Pharnabazus); 1, 30-31* (Pharnabazus and Agesilaus); 1, 39* (young man); 3, 2* (Dercylidas); 8, 18* (Thersander); 8, 22* (Diphridas and Thibron); 8, 31 (Thrasybulus); V, 1, 3-4* (Teleutias); 2, 28* (Phoebidas); 2, 37 (Teleutias); 3, 9* (*νόθος*); 3, 17* (Phliasian soldiers); 3, 20* (Agesipolis); 3, 22 (Delphion); 4, 4* (Theban polemarchs); 4, 25 (Cleonymus); 4, 32 (Sphodrias); 4, 57* (young man); 4, 65* (Nicolochus); VI, 1, 2-3* (Polydamas); 1, 4-6 (Jason); 1, 15-16 (Jason); 2, 6 (soldiers of Mnasippus); 2, 37* (Thyrians); 2, 39 (Chabrias); 3, 3* (Callias); 3, 7 (Autocles); 4, 28* (Jason); 4, 35* (Alexander); 4, 37* (young man); 5, 7* (Stasippos); VII, 1, 23* (Lycomedes); 1, 23 (the Arcadians); 1, 44* (Euphron); 2, 16 ff.* (Phliasians); 3, 1* (Phliasians); 3, 8 (Euphron); 5, 8 ff.* (Epaminondas).

Thus, the evidence that has been presented indicates that a division of the *Hellenica* occurs at II, 3, 10. There is no reason for us to be sceptical of II, 3, 10 as a point of division. In some ancient editions of the *Hellenica*, a book seems to have ended here. For the evidence, *cf.* Hatzfeld, *op. cit.*, 118.

(To be continued.)

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THE OMISSION OF THE VOCATIVE IN HOMERIC SPEECHES.

[The vocative is omitted at the beginning of about one-fifth of the speeches of the Homeric poems. An analysis of the reasons for its omission shows the weakness of W. Schmid's argument that the absence of the case of address in K 377 ff. is a sign of lateness, and that in general the omission of the vocative at the beginning of a speech is due either to the external form of the speech, or to the situation, or to the relation of the speaker to the person addressed, or to ἥθος.]

In accepting the lateness of K, Wilhelm Schmid remarks: "Stilistisch ist das Fehlen der Anredeformeln (ausser K 447) in dem Gespräch K 377 ff. abnorm" (Gesch. d. griech. Lit. I, 1929, 152, Anm. 1). Schmid does not indicate, however, what is the rule for the use of the vocative, and apparently it has never been determined.¹ In the two Homeric poems more than one speech in five lacks a vocative at the beginning.² This affords sufficient material for determining how far it is possible to establish a 'norm' for Homer's use of the vocative, and at the same time for gaining a clearer view of the technique of the narrative, as seen in the Homeric poems, in a small but not unimportant feature.

The inference that the omission of the vocative in K is an indication of lateness may be tested statistically by comparing K in this respect with other books of the two poems. K contains

¹ The vocatives of the Iliad and the Odyssey have been carefully studied by Thilde Wendel ("Die Gesprächsanrede im griechischen Epos und Drama der Blütezeit," *Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft*, Heft VI, 1929), but without reference to the omission of the vocative. Fräulein Wendel reserves for a future publication the study of direct speech in prayers, exclamations, addresses to the absent and the dead, and soliloquies. She also omits to distinguish between the vocative at the beginning of a speech, and at the middle or end, and says nothing about the number of times a vocative may be used in the same speech, e. g., Phoenix uses the vocative seven times in I 434-605.

² The two Homeric poems contain about 1350 speeches (Il. 685, Od. 665). This includes all speeches within speeches, like the dialogue between Zeus and Hera in the speech of Agamemnon, θ 78-144, and the speeches of the divinities in the Song of Demodocus, θ 270-366, with the exception of those introduced by the formula *καὶ πρὸς τὸς εἰρηνοῖ*, and the like. Of these 1350 speeches 296 (Il. 146, Od. 150) or 22%, have no vocative at the beginning.

41 speeches; the introductory vocative is omitted in 15, or 37%, a larger proportion than is found in any other book of either the Iliad or the Odyssey. This would seem at first glance to support Schmid's argument. Yet in © and M, which no one regards as 'early', the figures are, respectively, 25:2(8%) and 11:0(0%). On the other hand, A and ι, both 'early' books, have high percentages of omitted vocatives (A, 25%; ι, 32%). The large proportion in ι cannot be explained by the fact that Odysseus is telling the story, for in κ the ratio is 21%, and in μ, 7%. These figures are perhaps sufficient to prove that a purely quantitative consideration of the vocative leads nowhere. We must therefore apply the qualitative test, and examine the omissions of the introductory case of address with reference to the external form of the speech, the situation, the person addressed, and the character and mood of the speaker.

The introductory vocative is of course not found in a speech whose beginning the poet reports in indirect discourse: Δ 303 ff. and Ψ 855 ff. are unquestioned examples. Hector's sharp command, O 347 ff., the only paraenesis in Homer which begins both without a vocative and with an infinitive instead of an imperative, is placed in this class by Nicanor (Schol. A). Eustathius, on the other hand (1019, 3), by comparing the similar command of Nestor (Z 67 ff.), seems to explain the omission of the vocative—which Nestor uses, ὦ φίλοι ἥρωες Δαναοί, θεράποντες Ἄργος—as deliberately chosen by the poet to emphasize the superiority in courtesy of the Greek to the Trojan (cf. below, p. 151). The vocative is almost equally out of place in the soliloquy.³ It is also comparatively rare in exclamations beginning with ὦ πόποι: of 51 speeches beginning with this interjection only 9 contain a vocative, at least in the opening words.⁴ In the utterances of an unnamed speaker, τις, or the like, the vocative is rather infrequent, although in many instances its omission may be explained on other grounds.⁵ A very short

³ v 18-21, in which the vocative is used, is in the form of a command to the speaker's heart.

⁴ B 157, E 714, H 455, Θ 201, 352, 427, Φ 229, ν 140, ο 381.

⁵ With vocative, Γ 298, 320, H 179, 201 (Zeῦ πάτερ, or the like), P 415, 421 (ὦ φίλοι), ρ 483 (Ἄντινοε), υ 376 (Τηλέμαχε), φ 362 (ἀμέγαρτε σὺ βῶτα); without vocative, B 272, X 373 (ὦ πόποι), ν 168 (ὦ μοι), Δ 82, β 325, 332, δ 770, θ 329, σ 73, 401, φ 397, 402, ψ 149.

speech, that is, one that consists of one or two verses, since it shows a tendency to be informal, omits the vocative more often than the average speech in Homer. In the two poems there are 18 speeches consisting of a single verse, in 8 of which the vocative is omitted (44%),⁶ and 37 speeches of two verses each, with no vocative in 32 (37%).

Finally, the influence of the external form of the speech itself on the use or omission of the vocative is seen in the dialogues. The first speech of one person to another requires the vocative of courtesy, and the vocative also helps the audience to recognize, with the least expenditure of attention, the identity of the speaker.⁷ This is seen in the prologues of Attic tragedy; it is true of the dialogues of Herodotus (e. g., I, 30, 35, 90), and it is the rule in Homer, with the exceptions already noted and to be noted presently. The vocative may or may not be used after the dialogue is under way, but until it is launched there must be some good reason for omitting some form of address. It follows that in dialogues of three or more speeches the vocative is frequently, if not 'normally', omitted after the first two utterances. The first dialogue of the Iliad (A 74-100) is an illustration: both Calchas and Achilles use the vocative in their first speech (vss. 74, 86), but Calchas uses none in his second speech (vs. 93). In many three-speech dialogues the vocative is used only in the first two; it is omitted in the third speech at Δ 51, E 218, H 38, K 61, Δ 656 (this speech is in effect the second speech of Nestor, for his welcome to Patroclus was mentioned, but not quoted, at vs. 646), O 254, Σ 463, ε 146, 182, τ 27. In longer dialogues the rule is not rigidly enforced: often short, familiar terms of address like γέρον, γύναι, ξείνε, ὦ φίλε, τέκος, and others, are used in any speech of the conversation. Still the 'rule' is often observed. When Achilles and Agamemnon exchange speeches (A 122-187) the vocative of courtesy, Ἀ-ρείδῃ κύδιστε, θεοείκελ' Ἀχιλλεύ, is used in the first speech of both speakers, but no vocative in the second. It is true that Achilles

⁶ With vocative, Δ 606, Σ 182, 392, Ψ 770, Ω 88, η 342, ι 408, λ 80, π 337, ω 407; without vocative, Τ 420, Ψ 707, 753, θ 358, κ 320, ρ 494, ω 491, 495.

⁷ V. Bérard, *Introd. à l'Odyssée*, Tome I (1924), 94, comments on the difference of technique in introducing the quoted speech between Homer and Vergil, whose Aeneid was designed for reading rather than for recitation.

in his second speech employs adjectives in the vocative (vs. 149), but these only add to his intentional discourtesy, just as "You lie, you cur!" is a greater affront than the simple "You lie!". Agamemnon in his second speech contents himself with the curt, *φεῦγε μάλ'* (vs. 173). In the dialogue between Idomeneus and Meriones (N 249-294) there are five speeches: in the last three no vocatives are used. Idomeneus begins the conversation with a most formal term of address, a vocative which fills the entire verse (249, *Μηριόνη Μόλου νιὲ πόδας ταχύ, φίλταθ' ἑταίρων*). The reply of Meriones in the vulgate is quite as formal (255, *Ἰδομενεῦ, Κρητῶν βουληφόρε χαλκοχιτώνων*). Aristarchus apparently omitted this verse, but it was found in some editions (Schol. T). Most modern editors bracket the verse. It is, however, entirely in keeping with the technique of the Homeric dialogue, it is not found elsewhere, and if it be omitted Idomeneus remains the only one of the nine major Greek heroes who lacks the compliment of a vocative which fills a whole verse. When Iris and Achilles converse (Σ 170-201) no vocative is used in the last three speeches, but there is a vocative in each of the first two. In the conversation between Hera and Aphrodite (Ξ 190-221) the vocative is used only in the first two of the five speeches. These examples show that in the Homeric dialogue when a character first addresses another he is more likely to use the vocative than in a later speech to the same person.⁸

Besides the external form of the speech, the situation may justify the omission of the vocative. If we rush to a neighbor's to tell him that his house is on fire, and the neighbor suddenly confronts us at the door, we are far more apt to say, "Your house is on fire", than "Mr. Smith, your house is on fire". In

⁸ The fact that the Iliad contains a much larger proportion of single speeches to which no reply is made (Il. 261; Od. 73), and also of dialogues consisting of only two speeches (Il. 52; Od. 26), undoubtedly has a considerable bearing on the comparatively greater number of speeches in the Odyssey which lack the vocative. The Odyssey is marked by the comparative absence of the single speech and the presence of the long dialogue. The percentage of omitted vocatives in the Odyssey would be even greater were it not for the more familiar and less formal tone of the poem, which permits a greater use of the familiar words of address, *γέρον, γύναι, ξείνε, τέκος*, etc. These are much more common in the Odyssey than in the Iliad, cf. Wendel, *op. cit.*, 149, and the table on p. 81.

such circumstances we use the name or any other term of address merely to catch the attention: neither courtesy nor convention requires the vocative. So in Homer the vocative is often omitted, partly at least, because of the urgency of the situation. A 207, Athena desires to check Achilles instantly;⁹ Δ 184, Menelaus wishes to reassure Agamemnon at once that his wound is not serious; Ψ 735, Achilles is anxious to stop the wrestling match at once (this omission of the vocative may possibly be due to the transition from indirect to direct discourse, for the verb introducing the speech is *κατέρυκεν*, and not a verb of saying [cf. above, p. 141]). The haste of Priam when he commands the gatekeepers to fling open the gates (Φ 531) may explain why the king omits the vocative; it is certainly the chief reason for the omission at Θ 413, *πῆ μέματον*, and Ο 718, *οἴστε πῦρ*. Sometimes the poet in his narrative makes clear the urgency of the situation, P 707 (*θέων, εἴθαρ δὲ προσήυδα*), ο 171 (*ὑποφθαμένη*), χ 355 (*αἶψα*); at other times the speaker's own words show his haste, e. g., Δ 70 (*αἶψα*), Ο 146 (*ὅττι τάχιστα*), Ψ 205 (*οὐχ ἔξος*¹⁰), κ 423 (*πάμπρωτον*), ο 209 (*σπουδῇ*), χ 106 (*θέων*), ω 495 (*θῶσσον*). Finally, the need of secrecy accounts for the lack of the vocative at ξ 493 and τ 42 ("*σίγα*"), and at Γ 390, where Aphrodite in the guise of an old serving-woman speaks to Helen on the tower (cf. vs. 385, *χειρὶ δὲ νεκταρέον ἱανοῦ ἐτίναξε λαβοῦσα*).

The vocative is often omitted because of the speaker's relation to the one whom he addresses. When the identity of the latter is unknown or vaguely defined we are apt to find no vocative. Nestor, suddenly awakened from sleep, cries out, "Who goes there?" (Κ 82), as Odysseus does later (Κ 141). Achilles asks Asteropaeus, who came to Troy while Achilles was out of the fighting (Φ 145 f.), who he is (Φ 150). It is true, however, that in inquiries of this kind the vocative may be used when courtesy demands it (Ζ 123, γ 71). Neither Telemachus in his prayer to the divinity who had visited him *incognito* the day before (β 262), nor Menelaus in replying to the question of Eidothea (δ 376) can properly use the vocative. The vocative is

⁹ A contributory cause of the omission of the vocative may be the fact that the speaker is replying to an urgent question, cf. (all first speeches) A 365, E 276, E 301, ο 425, 513, π 465.

¹⁰ Patroclus, in spite of his haste, remembers his manners, Δ 643, see below, p. 150.

not required in a general challenge (Ψ 667), except when a definite body of rivals is defied (θ 202). The call for a volunteer, who is unknown ($\tau\upsilon\varsigma$, ω 491, cf. Ω 74), might excuse the omission of the term of address at K 303. Eustathius, however (p. 806, 27), detects the poet's intentional hint to the audience that Hector is rude and tactless compared with the Greek leaders: Nestor, he says, begins a similar call for a volunteer (K 204) with " ω φίλοι", $\epsilon\gamma\tau\alpha\upsilon\theta\alpha$ δὲ (K 303) ὁ Ἑκτωρ οὐδὲν τοὺς συγκεκλημένους προσφωνεῖ.

Often the speaker expresses himself as though thinking aloud, rather than addressing his words to anyone in particular. The best example is Δ 6 ff., where Zeus, $\piαραβλήδην ἀγορεύων$, employs no vocative. Leaf renders the adverb "maliciously", comparing (with other commentators $\piαραίβολα$, Hymn. Merc. 56. But the malice both of taunting boys and of Zeus is veiled by an 'aside'. In the same way Melanthius in beginning his abusive words to the swineherd and the beggar (ρ 217) addresses "the circumambient ether". χ 5 may also be an instance, also Ψ 536, and Υ 425, $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\upsilon\varsigma$ ἀνὴρ, cf. Xen. Anab. I, 8, 26, τὸν ἄνδρα ὁρῶ.

An oath, imprecation, or wish may render the vocative out of place, e. g., O 36 (Hera, panic-stricken by the rage of Zeus when he discovers that he has been tricked, replies to his threat, $\iota\sigma\tau\omega$ νῦν τόδε γαῖα), T 258; Θ 358, Φ 428; γ 346, ρ 494, 496, χ 462.

A pronoun, less courteous than the name, sometimes seems to displace the vocative, especially when used for contrast, e. g., θ 443, Arete bids Odysseus put his own knot on the fastening of the chest, $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ νῦν ἴδε πῶμα, $\theta\omicron\omega\varsigma$ δ' ἐπὶ δεσμὸν ἦλον. It may be added that here Arete is speaking less as a queen and a hostess than as a housewife in familiar conversation. Similarly Γ 97, N 77, Σ 140, Ψ 403, μ 37, \omicron 503, ω 214.

The vocative is not infrequently omitted when the speaker either addresses menials or employs the tone used in speaking to those of greatly inferior rank. Agamemnon omits the term of address in commanding his heralds to fetch Briseis from the barracks of Achilles (A 322). The vocative is not needed for informing the audience, since the poet has told their names and occupation in vss. 320 f. The king uses the vocative in another command to a herald (Ταλθύβιε, Δ 193). The omission at A 322 adds a certain brusqueness of tone which contributes to ἥθος, showing that the self-centered Agamemnon, because he can

think of nothing but the vengeance for the assumed slight upon his kingly majesty, has forgotten the small decencies of everyday intercourse. In striking contrast is the courtesy of Achilles (A 334) in giving the same heralds both their title and the recognition of their rank and dignity. When Priam orders the warders to open the gates (Φ 521), and Andromache calls two of her handmaids to go with her to the tower (X 450) both the urgency of the situation and the mood of the speaker justify the omission of the vocative. Hector, on the contrary (Z 376), although in some haste, uses it, *δῖοναι*. Priam's words to the crowd at the Scaean Gates (Ω 716) reveal by the omission of the vocative both the *hasteu* of the king and the despair of the grief-smitten old man.

We have thus far considered as factors which contribute towards the omission of the vocative at the beginning of a speech the external form of the speech, the situation, and the person addressed. It remains to examine the influence of the speaker's mood or his character or both, that is, of *πάθος* and *ῥῆθος*, on the omission of the word of address.

If one is in a mood when his emotions or passions are deeply stirred, one is likely to forget both courtesy and convention, and even then the extent to which one forgets is likely to depend somewhat on his habitual attitude towards these obligations. The child that, when forbidden some long-looked-for pleasure, indulges in a passionate outburst of sobs is quite as apt, if its mother tries to offer comfort, to say, "Let me alone!", as, "Let me alone, Mother!", and much more so if it has learned neither courtesy nor self-control—and the child lurks in many a mature personality. Hence the reaction of the speaker to the situation, and the traits of character which this reaction emphasizes, may be expected to show some influence on the omission and the use of the vocative in any narrative which, like Homer's, gives a true picture of life. If we test by *πάθος* and *ῥῆθος* the omission of the vocatives of courtesy, and the use of those of discourtesy, we find much apparently positive evidence of the truth of this principle.

When Dione, holding her wounded daughter in her arms (E 373), asks, "Who did thee this harm, dear child?" Aphrodite replies, "Tydeus' son, with his spear." Pain and rage cause her to forget the term of address. Thetis, plunged in

grief for the son she is so soon to lose, replies to Iris when the latter brings her the summons of Zeus (Ω 90), "Why doth he summon me? I cannot meet the immortals, my heart is too full of grief." Even the goddess forgets her manners—as her son, although in grief equally poignant, does not (Σ 182, Ἴρι θεά, τίς γάρ σε θεῶν ἐμοὶ ἄγγελον ἤκεν;). Achilles, however, is not perfect in this respect: to his mother's question, "Why dost thou weep?", he replies, οἶσθα· τί ἦ τοι ταῦτα ἰδυίη πάντ' ἀγορεύω; (A 365, the particle ἦ lends a certain petulance to "Why?", see below, p. 148, and adds to the reason for the omission of μήτηρ ἐμή: Σ 79, T 21). Sometimes when the vocative is omitted because of the speaker's emotion the poet in the verse which introduces the speech indicates the πάθος, Γ 427 (ἡνίπαπε), Δ 137 (ἀμείλικτον· δ' ὀπ' ἄκουσαν), T 304 (στενάχων), ι 256 f., ἡμῖν δ' αὖτε κατεκλάσθη φίλον ἦτορ / δεισάντων φθόγγον τε βαρὺν αὐτόν τε πέλωρον. This is the only moment during the Wanderings when Odysseus utterly loses his *sangfroid*, as his confused answer to Cyclops plainly shows, a sentence that in structure and length and arrangement is hard to parallel in either poem. This is the only 'first speech' of Odysseus to Polyphemus in which the vocative is lacking at the beginning; vs. 523 ff. is both a 'second speech' and a wish, if not a virtual imprecation. It is to be noticed that in his first speech to Cyclops Odysseus recovers his coolness after the first few words, and uses a vocative, φέριστε, before the end of the speech (vs. 269).

The speeches which follow the 'stage direction' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν, point to the influence of πάθος, not so much on the omission as on the use of the vocative. The simple name or a less formal term, neither with a complimentary epithet, is used 10 times (Δ 350, K 447, M 231, Ξ 83, P 170, Σ 285, χ 61; Δ 412 (τέττα), Ω 560 (γέρον), θ 166 (ξεῖνε). To the name an epithet provoked by anger is added 4 times (B 246, ἀκριτόμυνθε, O 14, ἀμήχανε, P 142, εἶδος ἄριστε,¹¹ X 261, ἄλαστε). κύον (κύνες) occurs 3 times (X 345, σ 338, χ 35); epithets alone are used 5 times (A 149, ἀναδείην ἐπιειμένε, κερδαλέοφρον, E 889, ἀλλοπρόσαλλε, σ 15, δαιμόνιε, τ 71, δαιμονίη, σ 389, ἃ δειλέ), and the vocative is omitted 4 times

¹¹ Wendel, op. cit., 31, 50, 108, regards this as complimentary; it is no more so in this passage than it is when applied by Hector himself to Paris (Γ 39), and Paris regards it as a taunt (vs. 64, cf. 55 f.).

(E 252, Y 429, ρ 460, γ 321). In these 26 speeches *πάθος*, indicated by the 'stage direction', influences the peculiar use of the vocative or its omission 16 times.

It is to be noticed that occasionally when the vocative is omitted, emotional particles are used at the beginning of the speech: *ῥ*, A 293, E 890, I 197, X 356; *ῥ δῆ*, A 518, 573, Ξ 53, ε 182; *ῥ δῆ μάν*, P 538; *ῥ μάλα*, ξ 391; *ῥ τοι*, Δ 51, Λ 317, λ 505; *ῥ ῥά νυ*, Z 215, K 401, Σ 394, καὶ λίην, λ 181, ν 393, π 37, ρ 312.

As *πάθος* influences the use and omission of the vocative, so does *ῥθος* in the stricter sense. The speeches of Diomedes and of Odysseus in the *Iliad* offer interesting evidence of this. The youthful, high-spirited and impetuous Diomedes speaks 26 times. He omits the vocative in 9 speeches (31%, compared with 22% for all the speakers of the *Iliad*), E 252, 287, Z 215, H 400, K 242, 370, Λ 317, 347, Ξ 110. He employs the formal vocative of courtesy and respect 6 times, to Aphrodite (E 348), to Athena (E 115, 815, K 284, two of these in a prayer) and twice to mortals (© 93, I 697, both times with the full name or title filling an entire verse). Twice he uses the simple name (I 32, K 220), and three times, to Nestor, the more familiar *γέρον* (© 102, 146) or *γεραί* (K 164). His squire and friend, Sthenelus, he addresses either with the offhand *πέττα* (Δ 412, in reproof; only here in Homer) or with the familiar and somewhat affectionate *πέπον* (E 109, with the patronymic: "old man" or "old fellow", cf. 447. Leaf, on E 109, calls it a form of courteous(?) address). To the enemy he shows his impetuous and fiery spirit. The retreating Hector he calls *κύον* (Δ 362, as we might say, "You got away this time, you cowardly cur!"), and when Paris has wounded him he pours out abuse and insult quite in the manner, if not in the language, of the modern Greek chauffeur when a peasant in the country is blocking the road, *τοξότα, λαβητήρ, κέραι ἀγλαέ, παρθενπίπα* (Δ 385).¹² The cooler-blooded Odysseus,

¹² Perhaps *ῥθος* partly accounts for the vocative used in his first words to Glaucus (Z 123, *τὲ δὲ σὺ ἐσσι, φέριστε*), for with the departure of Athena from the battlefield his mood has changed. The usual term of address when opponents meet on the field of battle includes the name, unless bitterness or scorn exists: when Hector retreats before Diomedes, *κύον* is used (Δ 362), and when he meets Aias (N 810), the latter uses *δαιμόνιε*. One of the conventions of Homeric narrative is that fighters on opposite sides know each other (cf. note 16). Exceptions occur

when wounded by Socus, is content with the simple α δειλέ (Δ 441). Odysseus is an older man, and both his deeds and his words are marked by caution and deliberateness. He does not (B 170) lay hold of his ship to launch it, as other leaders seem to have done.¹³ In the Epipoleis (Δ 333 ff.) he waits for another contingent of the Greeks to begin the fighting. He is the last to volunteer for the combat with Hector, as Diomedes is the first after the commander (H 168, 163).¹⁴ In the Odyssey he will not accept the proposal of Calypso until she has sworn her sincerity (ε 177 ff.), nor of Leucothea until compelled by circumstances (ε 360 ff.). To deliberateness he adds tact: his two great after-dinner speeches (I 225-306, ι 2-μ 453) are models in that he begins with a compliment to the dinner and the host. Therefore we are not surprised to find deliberateness and tact in his use of the vocative. In the Iliad he makes almost exactly the same number of speeches as Diomedes (27:26). He omits the vocative in 5 (19%, compared with Diomedes's 31%). The five instances are Δ 404, a soliloquy, K 141, when, just awakened in the middle of the night, he asks, "What is the matter? Why are you out so late?", and three times in speaking to the unknown Dolon (see below, p. 151 f.), likewise in the night and to a person whom the audience knows to be insignificant. His

chiefly when the poet wishes to describe the ancestry of a hero (e. g., of Asteropaeus, Φ 150). That Diomedes does not know Glaucus and that he uses a friendly epithet (φείσσε, cf. Ψ 409, Ω 387, α 405, ι 269, cf. Wendel, op. cit., 20) are both due largely to the poet's ultimate purpose. Homer is here preparing for the revelation that Glaucus and Sarpedon, who alone of the heroes on the Trojan side are represented throughout the poem as *sans peur et sans reproche*, are after all of Greek blood, and he is also forecasting the happy outcome of the encounter, warm handshakings instead of death, and a voluntary exchange of armor, rather than the stripping of the dead.

¹³ The poet wisely omits the part which the leaders must have taken in getting the ships ready. They must have gone with their men, for Agamemnon had proposed an immediate return, and this proposal had been accepted. But the Olympic scene (vss. 155-165) fills in the time and prevents us from seeing the leaders helping to carry out the first part of the 'clever plan' (B 55) of Agamemnon.

¹⁴ That he is the first to pray to Athena in K (277, 283) is not because of his greater piety, but simply because he was mentioned last (vs. 271, Diomedes in vs. 255)—the regular Homeric *δευτερον προτερον*, cf. Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, XXXI (1920), 47 ff.

single vocative of abuse is deliberately used (B 246, to Thersites); on other occasions he is content with *δαμόνιε* (B 190, 200) or *ὦ δαίε* (A 441. cf. 452, to Socus). He uses the most elaborate term of address, a whole verse, 4 times (I 677, K 555, Δ 450, T 216); a complimentary addition to the name 4 times (B 284, K 278, 508, T 155), the simple name 8 times (A 442, Δ 350, I 225, K 249, 341, 477, Δ 313, Ξ 83), and the familiar substitute for the name only to his best friend, Athena (K 462, Ψ 770). His terms of address, like his actions, are controlled rather by the head than by the heart.

We might add to this evidence of the influence of *ἦθος* on the use of the vocative the fact that Achilles in his 87 speeches omits the vocative in 27 (31%), exactly the same proportion as Diomedes, who resembles him in other respects. The gentler Patroclus, on the other hand, uses a term of address even when in haste, and prefers to add an epithet of respect, *γεραίε διοτρεφές* (A 648), *διοτρεφὲς Εὐρύπυλ' ἦρωε* (A 819), *Εὐρύπυλ' ἦρωε* (A 838), and the most formal vocative, II 21. The only one of his 12 speeches which lacks the vocative is his exultant exclamation over the slain Cebriones (II 745-750), which by its bartering tone gives an ironically grim perspective to the almost immediate doom of the speaker.

From the evidence which has been presented it can readily be seen that the omission of the vocative in Homer cannot be reduced to a formula. There is no rule or norm, but only some general principles which are, however, always subordinate to the epic manner and to the fidelity to reality in the picture which the poet with this manner delineates. Perhaps the most that we can say is that the use or omission of the vocative in Homer must be both reasonable and natural. Whether K shows a 'late', that is, an inferior technique in its omissions of the vocative must be judged by comparing each omission with others that have been noted above.

The vocative is omitted 15 times in K, vs. 61, 65, 82, 129, 141, 242, 303, 329, 370, 378, 383, 391, 401, 413, 424, of which the last six omissions seem to Schmid abnormal. Of the first 9 omissions, vs. 61, 65, 129, 242, are in 'second speeches' of an interlocutor in a dialogue: the speaker has without exception used the vocative in his first speech, viz., Menelaus, *ἦθειε* (37), Agamemnon, *διοτρεφὲς ὦ Μενέλαε* (43), Nestor, *Ἀτρεΐδην*

κύδιστε, ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγάμεμνον (103), and Diomedes, Νέστωρ (220). Vss. 82 and 141 are the "Who goes there?" uttered in the dead of night, and 329 is an oath, like O 36, T 258. Vs. 370, which really belongs with the verses to which Schmid objects, being the first exchange of words between the two Greek heroes and Dolon, has three of the characteristics which, as we have seen, may account for the lack of the vocative: it is a short speech of two verses; the situation is urgent, and the person to whom it is addressed is unknown and cannot even be seen in the darkness. The only unusual omission of the vocative is in Hector's call for a volunteer (303). Eustathius may be right (see above, p. 145) in thinking that Homer is deliberately contrasting the courtly old knight, Nestor, with the brusque Trojan commander. But Hector is not speaking at a formal council of war: the formula used in describing its calling together is that used by Agamemnon at B 55, and there the commander omits the formal vocative, using in its stead the more familiar φίλοι. We must also remember that as a general Hector does not shine:¹⁵ his words to the army on the field which have been cited above (p. 141) bear testimony to this. In any case we may say that O 347 is a sufficient parallel, so that the omission of the vocative in K 303 is not 'abnormal'. We may now examine the omissions of the vocative which Schmid finds abnormal.

K 378. Dolon: "Take me prisoner and I will bring you ransom." Dolon's teeth are chattering with fright: Diomedes and Odysseus have seized his hands. Terror may make even a brave man forget his manners, as it did Odysseus (ι 259), and Dolon is an arrant coward. Besides, he does not know who his captors are.

Vs. 383. Odysseus: "Have no fear; let not the thought of death cause your heart to sink." Again, Dolon's name is unknown, and both ξείνε and ἦρως would hardly be appropriate to one of Dolon's calibre, and to the situation.

Vs. 391. Dolon answers the question of Odysseus, still trembling with fear (390), a sufficient reason for the absence of the vocative. To this is added (1) his ignorance of the identity of

¹⁵ For evidence, see the writer's review of Bowra's *Tradition and Design in the Iliad*, *Class. Weekly*, XXV (1931), 14.

his questioner, and (2) the fact that the conversation is no longer at its beginning.

Vs. 401. Odysseus: "Upon my word, a princely reward you sought to win." This is an exclamation and, as we have seen, the particles *ἦ ῥά νυ* frequently take the place of a vocative.

Vs. 413. Dolon begins his speech with a formulaic verse, which often dispenses with the vocative (α 179, λ 146, ξ 192, τ 259).

Vs. 424. Odysseus asks a question in a two-verse speech, after the dialogue has gone on for a considerable number of speeches.

Vs. 427. (as vs. 413.)

Vs. 447. Diomedes: *μῆ δὲ με φύξιν γε, Δόλων, ἐμβάλλεο θυμῷ*. This is the first vocative in the 9 speeches of the dialogue. Schmid implies by the words "ausser 447" that the use of the vocative in this verse is 'normal'. We have seen above that in a considerable interchange of speeches the contrary is true: the vocatives are 'normally' found in the first two speeches, that is, in the first speech of each interlocutor, and are almost normally omitted later. The full discussion of this point belongs more properly to a consideration of Homeric dialogues. Here we may content ourselves with saying that the vocative is 'abnormally' used in vs. 447, but has two good reasons for being used, (1) it has not been used before, (2) it is found in the most personal of all the speeches of this conversation. There is no longer need of deception. The trick of inducing Dolon, by the implied promise to spare his life, to give the needed information has been successfully played. That Diomedes knows who Dolon is adds to the chagrin of the latter. The use of Dolon's name after he has been tricked is in some ways like the refusal of Odysseus to keep from revealing his identity to Polyphemus after his trick and his vengeance have been successfully carried out (ι 502 ff.).

Diomedes's knowledge of the name of his captive troubled some of the ancient commentators. It is however, quite in accordance with a very common feature of Homer's technique of the narrative, which must be reserved for future discussion.¹⁶

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¹⁶ In an article entitled "The *ἄνους ἐκ τοῦ ἀκροατοῦ*," to be published in this JOURNAL.

A NOTE ON THE *AGAMEMNON* OF AESCHYLUS.

[Aeschylus, *Agam.* 279 ff., describes at length the beacon-telegraph which reports the Fall of Troy. It seems to have escaped notice that the motive recurs elsewhere in myths and legends connected with Argos and Sparta, as in the stories of Nauplius, of Lynceus and Hypermnestra, and of the Minyae at Sparta. In all these there recur the same motives of a return (*νόστος*) and of the slaying (or saving) of the husbands by their brides. Pausanias states that a beacon-festival was observed at Argos in commemoration of the saving of Lynceus by Hypermnestra. The festival observance is the primary datum to which the legends are related. The observance obviously dates from primitive times.]

No man of intelligence will question that the *Agamemnon* is a tragedy of supreme excellence. Even the reader who knows no Greek can appreciate that fact, and if he should have the good fortune to see it presented on the stage, though it were given in Greek, as it was in the Harvard Stadium, he could not fail to be impressed by the action. He would, however, fail to perceive much of the subtle dramatic irony of the play, which, though less obvious, is quite as pervasive as in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles. At most he might be expected to apprehend the contrast between the ostentatious reception accorded the hero by his wife and the dire fate to which she was leading him.

The Hellenist may be, at certain times and in certain moods, as much a mere modern reader or play-goer as any other human being, and he may permit himself the luxury of yielding with a minimum of thought to the impression of the passing show; but he will hardly appreciate the work of one of the most subtle dramatists if he does not ask a thousand times why Aeschylus makes the chorus and the characters say just that, and find an intelligent answer. In order to do so, he must attempt to place himself in the position of the poet himself. The Greek dramatist lived in a world of ideas which had associations utterly foreign to the modern mind. That he could write plays that are in a measure intelligible to aliens is due to his grasp of the fundamental traits of human character and of the springs of action common to all mankind. One may go far along with Professor Smyth¹ in his animadversions on the vagaries of cer-

¹ *Aeschylean Tragedy*, pp. 4 f.

tain anthropologists without accepting the conclusions to which they might appear to lead. Who can claim to understand fully a single Greek play? How one pores (usually in vain) over the scholia for light on obscure allusions! Occasionally one is rewarded by a bit of information that one cannot better supply from other sources; but the ancient commentators, like their modern successors, show a remarkable preference for the obvious, while they pass over the questions on which the thoughtful reader would most desire enlightenment. One suspects that the ancient critics ignored these points because for them, living as they did in the same world of ideas, they required no comment; when the old world passed away and incurious grammarians took the place of the critics, it was in general too late to find the answers to our questions, which could be discovered only by research leading into regions beyond their interest and competence. The dramatic poets, especially Aeschylus and Euripides, clearly possessed a vast store of knowledge of local myths and usages and drew upon that treasure in the composition of their plays. What may still be recovered of the furniture of their minds is to be sought partly in the fragments of earlier writers, partly in the remaining versions of myths, and partly in the field of anthropology—not necessarily the anthropology of Polynesians or Kafirs.

I have neither the time nor the inclination to attempt a comprehensive discussion of the background of Attic tragedy. To do so adequately would require not only a general survey of the motives and their relation to ancient practices but especially a detailed analysis of each play and the interpretation of the allusions. Some day it may be possible to approximate this ideal; at present the necessary preliminary studies have scarcely been undertaken and, where attempts have been made, they are generally groping in the dark. The purpose of this note is the modest one of pointing out in a particular case how light may be shed on a play by studying a single motive and the ideas associated with it.

Before proceeding to this attempt, however, I think a brief statement is desirable by way of preface. Whatever may be the truth regarding the particular antecedents of drama—whether tragedy or comedy—it seems clear that the performances stood

in close relation to ritual observances, since they were in fact part of such observances. These included both the things done and the things said in the course of the rites. While the acts tended to remain relatively standardized, the interpretation, as always, was freer and subject to much variation. This was no doubt due to a number of causes. To speak first of the ritual acts, it is evident to every investigator that they were concerned with sanctities. Human nature being what it is, the solemnities which claim our reverence today are essentially the same as those which awed the people in the early times from which the Greeks inherited their observances. That most of them had ceased in every-day life to be practised in their original form by the Greeks of the fifth century is as plain as may be, though "symbolical" survivals continued long afterwards. We can easily understand the situation if we compare the Christian sacraments, whose form and interpretation have changed appreciably since they were first adopted by the church. Now, these sacraments are all concerned with the critical moments of the life-cycle, and even a superficial view of them reveals their character as what have well been called *rites de passage*. That the rites which were everywhere practised in ancient Greece were predominantly of this same character is likewise clear. They were initiation-rites (*τελεταί*), and, as such, followed in general a standard form; but they were performed for a variety of purposes and on very different occasions. Hence they were susceptible of very different interpretations: thus, as every one knows, the observances at initiation ("mystery"), marriage, and death were all but identical. This leads naturally to the *interpretation* of the ritual acts—to the things said, the myth, or "sacred story." The term "myth" is hard to define, because so many different things are embraced in it. Strictly, it should be the official (if in Greece there could be an official) interpretation of the ritual acts; but since Greek religion laid stress on the rites and happily allowed the worshipper to think his own thoughts (which man inevitably does), there being no orthodox dogma, the "myth" might vary even at a single sanctuary, especially when a poet allowed his imagination to play with it. Even more when essentially the same observances were held at different shrines and brought into relation with local divinities,

heroes, or heroines. Where the same motives recur with the same associations it is fair to conclude that they relate to a common practice; and where quite inconsistent myths (especially of older date) were told of the same god or hero in the same cult-center, one has reason to ask whether they are merely variant interpretations of the same rites.

This approach to a Greek tragedy seems necessary, but quite useless or misleading with reference to a modern play like *The Genci*. In the latter case we are dealing with an historical fact taken up and elaborated by a poet. The Greek tragedians, except in a few instances, which themselves constitute an interesting problem, did not seek their subjects in historical persons and events, but based their plays on myths. Why? One obvious reason is that the performance was, as we have said, part of a ritual observance which belonged to the same world of ideas. But one may question whether this fact alone accounts for a uniformity of practice which stands in striking contrast to the venturesome experimentation in other respects which one observes in the tragic poets, especially in Aeschylus and Euripides. A cub-reporter finds a "tragedy" in every unnatural death. No doubt the Greeks were shocked by such events, as we are, and some of them may inspire the Aristotelian "pity and fear," as one considers the possibility of meeting the same fate. But the subtler suggestions of Greek tragedy, which give them their unique character, are derived from the ideas associated with the rites which underlay the myths; and the poets made frequent allusions to them, counting no doubt on the sympathetic understanding of the spectators. Whatever the origin of the myth, the tragedian was of course bound to lead up to the death of his hero; and in doing so he displayed his dramatic power by weaving together the threads of the myth and supplying the motivation of the action. For this he must have recourse to realism and a knowledge of human nature, but in general he exercised in this regard a notable restraint; hence the realism of the Greeks is quite different from the modern.

Much more might, and perhaps should, be said in general on the subject of Greek tragedy; but this must now suffice. I will proceed to deal with a single motive of the *Agamemnon* recurring elsewhere in association with a group of ideas which

suggest something in the nature of a context. This, it will presently appear, is not due to the derivation of the various myths from the same literary source; for only two of the stories to be considered were told in the same epic, the *Nostoi* of Agias. Of the character of this poem it is not necessary to speak, because it was evidently one of many which dealt with the returns of the heroes. The theme must have been a favorite one in early times. Homer had told of the return of Agamemnon and Menelaus, not to speak of Odysseus. These all returned from Troy. Among all peoples the tales of their heroes tend to collect about a nucleus. In Greece there were several nuclei, but Troy proved to have the greatest power of attraction. The fact, however, that similar tales were told of other heroes and heroines who had no connection with Troy is of the greatest importance. The explanation is doubtless to be found in the relation of the myths to the rites which they reflect; for not only heroes, but gods and goddesses also, had their "returns," as witness Apollo, Dionysus, Artemis, and Aphrodite.² The ancient *rite de passage* consisted essentially of a departure (*ἐξοδος*) and a return (*νόστος*), separated by a *rite de marge* which represented the divinity or hero as abroad in a far country, frequently thought of as the land of the dead. The *Agamemnon* reflects this aspect of the rite as well as the others. But the action of the play is obviously concerned with the *νόστος*.

The motive of the *Agamemnon* to which I wish to direct particular attention is that of the beacons or bale-fires. It occurs like a musical theme in an overture at the very beginning of the play, where the watchman on the palace-roof greets the signal with a cry, but it is later developed at length when the Chorus of Elders inquires of the Queen why she has kindled fires on all the altars and she replies by describing how the message, telling of weal and woe, was flashed from peak to peak until it reached the palace walls at Mycenae, "true child of the fire kindled on Ida." So dramatic is this description, and so full of poetic fire, that it has apparently blinded the generations who could see in it only a reference to a primitive mode of telegraphing news by means of bale-fires. Editors cite modern parallels, which might be multiplied *ad libitum*, and special treatises have been

² See *The Day of Yahweh*, 489, n. 1.

devoted to the subject;^{2a} but if anyone has suggested any reason for the employment of this motive by Aeschylus in the *Agamemnon* it has not come to my knowledge. Yet the explanation is not far to seek, and if one notes the tone of mingled joy and anxiety with which the message is received one cannot doubt that the bale-fires themselves had dubious suggestions. We shall see that these are not confined to the *Agamemnon*; but a great poet has shown how a common motive may be employed with wonderful dramatic effect.

As has already been said, the story of the return of Agamemnon was told in the *Néstoroi*. The same poem told the story of Nauplius, just how fully we cannot say; but we may be sure that it related how Nauplius played the wrecker by lighting bale-fires on Mount Caphereus at the southern extremity of Euboea. The heroes, lured by these lights, were in great part drowned: Agamemnon escaped there, only to perish in his palace, lured to his death by the welcoming fires of home. Nauplius, we are told, himself fell a victim of his own device. This was presumably at Nauplia, the harbor of Argos and Mycenae. The story of Nauplius is inextricably interwoven with that of Agamemnon. Seneca in his *Agamemnon*³ in his verbose way treats of the bale-fires of Nauplius; but of more importance is the fact that Nauplius was the father of Palamedes and bore a grudge against Odysseus and Agamemnon for his death. Can it be that he omitted to use his favorite device of the bale-fires in luring his chief enemy to his death? He had failed at Mount Caphereus; perhaps myth brought him into direct connection with the beacon-fires at Nauplia, Argos, and Mycenae. In the *Agamemnon*, among the peaks on which beacons were lighted is mentioned Macistus on Euboea, which scholars have not been able to identify. Why Aeschylus should have chosen that name remains a mystery, but one naturally suspects that he meant Mount Caphereus, which would admirably suit the purpose and would at the same time point the connection with the story of Nauplius. Nauplia being the seaport of Mycenae, we may be sure that myth connected with it both the departure and the return of Agamemnon, though the chief

^{2a} See Diels, *Antike Technik*², pp. 77 ff. and the essays he there cites.

³ 557 ff.

nucleus of the myths of the departure was Aulis in the Euripus. Since Nauplius and his bale-fires had connections with the neighboring Mount Caphereus, it would not be surprising if the festival of beacons which we shall presently find attested for Argolis and Laconia, extended to Boeotia. Though it is anticipating to ask the question here, before the warrant for accepting the existence of the rite has been presented, one would wish to know when it was observed. The *Agamemnon* gives a hint, when the sack of Troy is said to have fallen at the setting of the Pleiades.⁴ This may conceivably be derived from a different line of tradition, but it certainly fits remarkably with the story of the *Nostoi*, where great stress is laid on the violent storms at sea. Hesiod says,⁵ "But if desire for uncomfortable sea-faring seize you, when the Pleiades plunge into the sea to escape Orion's rude strength, then truly gales of all kinds rage. Then keep ships no longer on the sparkling sea, but haul up your ship upon the land." The end of October or the beginning of November would thus mark the close of navigation in the earlier time, and one might then expect among a seafaring folk a festival of home-coming or *nostos*.

But Nauplius had even more terrible associations with Agamemnon and Clytaemnestra. We read in Apollodorus⁶ that when he failed to obtain satisfaction for the death of Palamedes "he coasted along Grecian lands and contrived that the wives of the Greeks should play their husbands false, Clytaemnestra with Aegisthus, Aegialia with Cometes, son of Sthenelus, and Meda, wife of Idomeneus, with Leucus. But Leucus killed her, together with her daughter, who had taken refuge in a temple." Nauplius is thus a wrecker of homes as well as of ships, a character in whose story the familiar *ἀνάρη*-motive is very prominent. But it becomes abundantly clear that Clytaemnestra was not an isolated figure. Her conduct could be matched by that of many others. If we were dealing with fact, the case would be simple: wives have been known to be untrue to their husbands and then to have murdered them to obtain their freedom. But we are concerned not with history but with myths that reflect rites;

⁴ 826.

⁵ *O. D.* 618 ff., tr. Evelyn-White.

⁶ Epitome, VI, 9 f., tr. Frazer.

which makes all the difference in the world. The fact that Leucus, who seduced Meda, slew her and her daughter, as Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus slew Agamemnon, at least raises the question whether the killing in the myth was to be taken literally, as it was, and of course had to be, taken in the tragedy.

The same question naturally arises in the case of the Danaids. The story of the daughters of Danaus, which likewise centers in Argos, is too well known to require repeating. As the descendants of Inachus through Io and Epaphus, they return from Egypt to the ancestral home. As with Agamemnon it is a *νόστος*, but with no association with Troy. As Clytaemnestra slew her husband on his return, so the Danaids, fifty in number, slew their husbands in their bridal beds—all except one, Hypermnestra, whose name strangely resembles that of Clytaemnestra: both names presumably derived from the word for "wooing." The large number of brides and bridegrooms suggests the ancient "village-marriage," which may be inferred from many a Greek myth and is reported by the Greeks as existing among various peoples. The circumstance that one bride saves, while her sisters slay their husbands, is arresting. Again, if we were dealing with fact, we might accept the story, revolting as it is, at its face value; but, as we must insist, we have no reason for doing so in dealing with a myth. Have we here then an instance of variant interpretations of an underlying rite? That there was, at least in very ancient times, a rite to which these myths relate we have the clearest warrant for assuming. As for the variant interpretations of it, he must be a careless reader indeed who does not note the terrible irony of the *Agamemnon* in the preparations for the hero's death, all of which suggest, and are obviously intended by the poet to suggest, the preparations for his nuptials. But to return to the Danaids: Hypermnestra, the exception in that bloody sisterhood, saved her bridegroom, Lynceus, who made good his escape to Lyrceæ, a height north-west of Argos. "The story," says Pausanias,⁷ "is that to this place came Lynceus, being the only one of fifty brothers to escape death, and that on his escape he raised a beacon here. Now to raise the beacon was the signal he had agreed with Hypermnestra to give if he should escape

⁷ II, 25, 4, tr. Jones

Danaus and reach a place of safety. She also, they say, lighted a beacon on Larisa as a sign that she too was now out of danger. For this reason the Argives hold every year a beacon-festival." This observance was without doubt extremely ancient, and accounts for the motive of the bale-fires in the myths of Nauplius, of Agamemnon and Clytaemnestra, and of the Danaids; but there is no reason to think it was originally connected with any one of them. Far more probably the character and significance of the rite are better represented by the associated ideas which recur in the various myths that gathered round the festival. As for the beacons, the stories we have considered lead us to infer that they were kindled not only at Argos on Larisa and Lyrcea but also at Mycenae and at Nauplia; from the mention of Arachnaeum in the *Agamemnon*⁸ we may with equal probability conclude that a beacon blazed there at the annual festival. Whether the other peaks mentioned by Clytaemnestra in her impressive recital of the message from Troy should be added we have no means of knowing,⁹ although the practice of kindling beacons on mountain peaks still continues to be observed in many parts of Greece in midsummer on St. John's day.

Primarily we are concerned with the observance in and about Argos; but not only Aeschylus in the *Agamemnon*¹⁰ but the entire tradition connected, and often confused, the departure and return of Agamemnon and Menelaus. The fact that they were, according to the myths, brothers is interesting in view of the fact that one had his abode in Mycenae and the other in Sparta. If, as some contend, Agamemnon was properly a god (Zeus-Agamemnon), this association in myth is remarkable and calls for explanation. That may well be left to more competent

⁸ 309.

⁹ The peaks are Ida, Hermæum on Lemnos, Athos, Macistus, Messapium, Cithaeron, Aegiplanctus, and Arachnaeum. Of Macistus and Arachnaeum I have already spoken. Lemnos was of course connected with Minyans and Pelasgians, and Strabo VII, 35 says Pelasgians from Lemnos occupied the peninsula of Athos, founding the cities there. Regarding the other mountains I have no data, but it is possible that they had a similar relation to Minyans and Pelasgians, since cults on the "high places" were clearly very ancient.

¹⁰ 109.

students of the relations existing between Argos and Sparta in the mythical past; but it is highly suggestive in connection with our present inquiry that there occurs another tale which seems to presuppose a similar observance in Laconia.

Herodotus¹¹ tells it thus: "The descendants of the crew of the Argo had been driven out by those Pelasgians who carried off the Athenian women from Brauron; being driven out of Lemnos by these, they sailed away to Lacedaemon and there encamped on Taygetus and kindled a fire. Seeing this, the Lacedaemonians sent a messenger to enquire who they were and whence they came. They answered the messenger that they were Minyae, descendants of the heroes who had sailed in the Argo, and had put in at Lemnos and there begotten their race. Hearing the story of the lineage of the Minyae, the Lacedaemonians sent a second time and asked to what end they had come to Laconia and kindled a fire. They replied that, being expelled by the Pelasgians, they had come to the land of their fathers, as was most just; and for their desire, it was that they might dwell with their fathers' people, sharing their rights and receiving allotted parcels of land. It pleased the Lacedaemonians to receive the Minyae on the terms which their guests desired, the chief cause of their so consenting being that the Tyndaridae had been in the ship's company of the Argo; so they received the Minyae and gave them of their land and divided them among their own tribes. The Minyae forthwith wedded wives, and gave in marriage to others the women they had brought from Lemnos. But in no long time the Minyae waxed wanton, demanding a share of the kingship and doing other unhallowed deeds; whereupon the Lacedaemonians resolved to slay them, and they seized and cast them into prison. When the Lacedaemonians kill, they do it by night, never by day. Now, when they were about to kill the prisoners, the wives of the Minyae, who were natives of the country, daughters of the chief among the Spartans, entreated leave to enter the prison and have speech each with her husband; the Lacedaemonians granted this, supposing the women would deal honestly with them. But when the wives came into the prison, they gave to their husbands all their own garments and themselves put on the men's dress; so the Minyae

¹¹ IV, 145, f., tr. Godley.

donned the female dress, and so passed out in the guise of women, and having escaped once more encamped on Taygetus."

This legend of the Minyans at Sparta is perhaps the most interesting and significant of all those here brought together. It has been discussed at length by those who, like the early Greek logographers, think by rational criticism to extract history from myth. Naturally they have seen nothing that interests us. Regarding the saga as a legend based on a myth, it is evident that it represents the coming of the Minyae to Laconia as a return or *nostos* to the land of their fathers. Their claims, on the face of the saga, are even more flimsy than those of the Heraclidae, but that does not concern us. The motive of the bale-fire kindled on Mount Taygetus is obviously an important one in the story, because it is several times insistently mentioned. That it closely parallels the beacon-fires in the myths of Nauplius, of Agamemnon-Clytaemnestra, and of Lynceus-Hypermnestra, is too clear to call for further remark. The Minyae in the story ignore the question why they kindled the fire,¹² and various conjectures have been made to account for it. Pausanias¹³ says that Taletus, the highest peak of Taygetus, was sacred to Helios, to whom, like the Persians, they sacrificed horses. This suggests fire on this mountain, which is now called Mount St. Elias, where an annual pilgrimage is still said to be held. Presumably this occurs, as it does at Mount St. Elias (Caphereus) on Euboea at mid-summer, on St. John's day. There is reason to suggest that the rite was very ancient, though its date may have been changed. It can hardly be a matter of chance that the story relates to the Minyae. We do not know who these people were, but they must be very ancient: possibly, as has been suggested, they were the pre-Hellenic inhabitants of Greece. This conjecture would well comport with the rites which the group of myths we are considering presupposes. With evident intention the saga represents these Minyae as claiming descent from the Argonauts and the women of Lemnos. In view of the myths of Clytaemnestra and the Danaids, who slew their husbands and the home-wrecking attributed to Nauplius of the

¹² Unless the answer is implied in their statement that their coming is a *nostos*.

¹³ III, 20, 4.

bale-fires, the unsavory reputation of the Lemnian women must not be ignored; for they also are said to have murdered their husbands. The motive (obviously suggested at a later time, when the original meaning of the myth was no longer understood) in their case, as in the case of Clytaemnestra, is said to have been jealousy; though in the *Agamemnon* the "killing" of Iphigenia also furnishes a motive for the crime. The *Iphigenia in Aulis* represents this act as a *προτέλεια* on an altar and thus, like the killing of Meda and her daughter Clisithyra in a temple, gives us a clew as to the meaning of the myth and the character of the rite. The jealousy of the Lemnian women was aroused by their husbands deserting them and taking Thracian concubines, as Clytaemnestra regards Cassandra as Agamemnon's concubine and therefore likewise to be slain. If we may judge by the rites of the Brauronian Artemis, the Pelasgians who brought Athenian women from Brauron¹⁴ and drove the Minyae from Lemnos might as well have consorted with the Lemnians. At all events, the Minyae and their wives, descended from the Lemnians, do not appear to have been, according to present notions, paragons of virtue in their marital relations. The Minyae are said to have given their wives to the Lacedaemonians and to have received Spartan women in exchange. Presently they waxed wanton and committed unhallowed deeds (not specified) and so incurred imprisonment and sentence of death. One might venture a shrewd guess as to the shocking crimes with which they were charged. As is generally the case, not half of the story is told; but enough is given to enable one to discern traces of an old rite. When the men were cast into prison their Spartan wives, duping their fathers, obtained leave to see them; then exchanging garments with them they contrived to send the men, disguised as women (and as one version says, veiled), away under cover of night. They betook themselves, of course, to Taygetus, and we may assume that again they kindled a beacon there in token of their safe arrival. But what of their wives? They had incurred the risk of treachery and even of treason, and though, womanlike, they might count on

¹⁴ The Athenian women were seized by the Pelasgians at a festival, as the Sabine women were at Rome. In each case the presumption is that the stories reflect an ancient rite. Cf. Herod. VI, 138, etc.

leniency, would they not, like Hypermnestra, wish to give a signal to their husbands that they too were safe? One imagines a perfect parallel in this respect to the story of Lynceus and Hypermnestra; for in this case also the brides saved, instead of being party to the killing of their husbands. Why this variation should occur is easily understood if one accepts the myths as reflecting a rite involving marriage. That it was in fact a rite can hardly be doubted; for the act of exchanging garments, women disguising as men and men as women, is well known as a practice in many an ancient festival in the Near East. The Christians, when it was done on the Kalends of January, condemned it, as did the Hebrews, and called it "putting on the form of the Devil."¹⁵

As is the case with most ancient observances, these beacon-festivals of Argos and vicinity evidently combined a number of rites and collected about them a variety of myths and legends. Of the myths and legends enough has been said. Among the *δρώμενα* of the festival we may with certainty set down the kindling of beacon-fires and the celebration of a village-marriage, however expurgated the rite may have been in historical times. The character of the myths suggests that the occasion was a home-coming, or *nostos*, and possibly marked among other things the close of navigation. But the aspect of the whole, as reflected in the myths and legends, which appears to have been the most prominent is that which relates to marriage. It is not my purpose to enter at length into the questions relating to the primitive observances of which there are many traces in ancient Greece; but a brief statement is necessary in order to make some points in the foregoing account intelligible. We are told that the ancient rite occupied three days, which were called respectively *προαύλια*, *ἀπαύλια*, and *ἐπαύλια* (or *ἐκκαλυπτήρια*). Of the rites proper to these days we have no present occasion to speak except to say that on the *ἀπαύλια* the bridegroom (originally, the bride also) was supposed to be abroad (often understood as being in a far country or in the land of the dead), and to return on the third day, the *ἐπαύλια*, when the marriage was consummated. Often the return, or *νόστος*, is thought of as a

¹⁵ See *The Day of Yahweh*, p. 227, n. 1.

resurrection, the bridegroom returning as a revenant. Properly assigned to the *ἀταύλια* were certain rites known as *προτέλεια*, *πρόθυμα*, which in one form or another signified, by way of preparation for the true initiation of wedlock, the sacrifice of virginity by both parties, particularly by the bride.¹⁶ These details suffice to explain the elaboration of the rites in the myths, which have for the most part reached us in a form revealing the effects of rationalization and the reaction of a state of society that could think of such things only as high crimes and misdemeanors.

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¹⁶ See Becker, *Cherikles*, III. 361 ff., for a few data not critically considered. The statement in the text above is based upon an elaborate study which I made ten years ago. It may never be published.

THE ΚΩΦΟΙ OF SOPHOCLES.

Among the plays of Sophocles which have failed to come down to modern times is the satyr drama called *οἱ Κωφοί*. All that remains of it to-day, or, at least, all of it that can be positively identified, is part of a single iambic trimeter line quoted by the scholiast on the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius (I, 972) because of the peculiar expression *ὄνος ισόσπριος*. This, it seems, was another name for the woodlouse, *ἰούλος*, as is made clear by Pearson in his note on the fragment, quoting Hesychius.¹ In addition to this quotation there are four allusions to the play, all of which are noted and discussed by Pearson in his edition of the *Fragments of Sophocles*.² With such very scanty evidence available it is not surprising that there has been a difference of opinion as to the subject of the play, and even as to what the title meant. Pearson, I think rightly, translates it "Blockheads", and he quotes, apparently with approval, Wagner's suggestion that "the subject was the gift of fire by Prometheus to the satyrs." That the traditional story of the gift of fire by Prometheus to mankind, not to the satyrs, did have an important place in the play I shall try to show; and that from it another incident developed with which the plot was chiefly concerned.

In a scholium on the *Theriaca* of Nicander line 343 the following tale is told. That when Prometheus stole the fire and gave it to men they informed Zeus of what had happened, and he, in return for their information, gave them an herb (*φάρμακον*) which would confer upon them perpetual youth (*ἀγήρασία*). They took it and carried it away upon a donkey; but the beast was carelessly watched, wandered away, and gave the herb in exchange for a drink of water to a serpent that was guarding a spring. The serpent thus won the ability to renew its youth by sloughing off its skin, and mankind lost immortality. This story, says the writer, was found in the *Κωφοί* of Sophocles.³ Aelian (*Nat. Anim.* VI, 51) has the same tale,

¹ *S. v.* ὄνος ισόσπριος. ἔστι δὲ ἕξον πολύπουρον, ὀσπρίῳ ὅμοιον, ὃ καὶ ἰούλον τινὲς φασιν.

² *Fragments of Sophocles*, II, pp. 31 ff.

³ ἔστι δὲ ὁ μῦθος παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ ἐν Κωφοῖς.

adding that Sophocles, Deinolochus, Thycus, Aristias and Apolophanes all made use of it; and Nicander in his *Theriaca* (343-353) has it, too, calling it an ὠρύγιος μῦθος. All this has been known and is set forth by Pearson in his discussion of the fragments.

That Nicander was right when he referred to the story as an ὠρύγιος μῦθος there can be no doubt. It was, in fact, one of the very oldest tales in Greek mythology and may be traced back to the old Sumerian Gilgamesh epic. The story of the adventures of this mythical hero is, to be sure, only partly preserved in its original Sumerian form, but in the later Assyrian version it is almost complete. Here we find three books (Books IX, X and XI) given up to an account of Gilgamesh's search for the plant "never-grow-old"—the plant which would confer upon its possessor eternal life and youth. In the epic Gilgamesh, after great exertions, eventually gets possession of the magic herb; but on his way home he stops to bathe in a spring, when a serpent seizes the plant and makes away with it. Gilgamesh thus loses the means of obtaining immortality and the serpent gains it. As evidence of which it sloughs off its skin each year.⁴

This old Babylonian legend of man's vain efforts to obtain perpetual life and youth makes its appearance in Greek mythology in different forms. That it was familiar in Greek literature is clear from the passage in Aelian quoted above, where five different authors are mentioned as using it. It was probably also the original source of the story found in the *Polyidus* of Euripides. There, after Polyidus had been shut up in a tomb with the body of the dead boy Glaucus, a serpent approached them and was killed by the seer. Another serpent discovering what had happened went off and returned with an herb by means of which it brought its mate back to life. Polyidus perceiving this gathered some sprigs of the plant and by their magic power brought the dead Glaucus back to life again.⁵

But it is not my purpose here to trace the various ramifications of this ancient myth in Greek literature. It is enough to point out that it was used by Sophocles in constructing the plot of his lost *Κεφφοί*.

⁴ See Langdon, *Semitic Mythology*, pp. 227 ff. and the references quoted by him.

⁵ See Bates, *Euripides*, pp. 284 ff.

The Idaean Dactyls also had a part in the play as is clear from three references. A scholium on the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius (I, 1126) says that Sophocles called them Phrygians in the *Κωφοί*.⁶ Zenobius, a writer of the second century A. D., states that one of them, Celmis, insulted Rhea and he adds that the incident was mentioned by Sophocles in the *Κωφοί*.⁷ The third reference, a passage in Strabo (X, 22, p. 473), does not mention the *Κωφοί*, but says that some people regarded the Idaean Dactyls as the first inhabitants of the foothills of Mount Ida, and that Sophocles thought that there were five male and five female, whence their name. Strabo adds that everybody regarded them as the first workers of iron and thought of them as wizards (γόητας ὑπειλήφασιν).

The Idaean Dactyls have been something of a puzzle to modern scholars. Many years ago C. A. Lobeck⁸ collected and discussed the passages in ancient writers referring to them. Sometimes they were located in Crete and associated with the Cretan Ida; and again, as by Sophocles, with the Phrygian Ida. They were regarded as possessed of more or less magical powers because of their ability to smelt iron. So much is clear. In a fragment of the old epic poem *Phoronis*, which is the earliest allusion to them, they are called wizards and discoverers of the art of smelting and working iron and are located on the Phrygian Ida. Their names are given as Celmis, Damnameneus and Acmon.⁹ Diodorus Siculus (V, 64, 4) says that Ephorus mentioned them as living near the Phrygian Ida (κατὰ τὴν Ἰδην τὴν

⁶ Σοφοκλῆς δὲ αὐτοὺς Φρύγας καλεῖ ἐν Κωφοῖς σατύροις.

⁷ Κέλμης γάρ, εἰς τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων, τὴν μητέρα Ῥέαν ὑβρίσας, κ. τ. λ. . . μέμνηται τῆς ἱστορίας Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Κωφοῖς.

⁸ *Aglaophamus*, II, pp. 1156-1181. The Hymn to the Idaean Dactyls found at Eretria (*I. G.* XII, 9, No. 259) adds nothing of importance for this present discussion.

⁹ See Schol. Laur. to Apollonius Rhodius I, 1129; also Kinkel, *Ep. Græco. Frag.* p. 211. Ὁ δὲ τὴν Φορωνίδα συνθεὶς γράφει οὕτως.

ἔνθα γόητες

Ἰδαῖοι Φρύγες ἄνδρες ὀρέστεροι οἰκί' ἔναιον
Κέλμης Δαμναμενεὺς τε μέγας καὶ ὑπέρβιος Ἄκμων,
εὐπάλαμοι θεράποντες ὀρείης Ἀδρηστείης •
οἱ πρῶτοι τέχνην πολυμήτιος Ἐφαιστοῖο
εὔρον ἐν οὐρείῃσι νάπαις, ἴοντα σίδηρον,
ἐς πῦρ τ' ἤνεγκον καὶ ἀριπρεπὲς ἔργον ἔδειξαν.

ἐν Φρυγίᾳ). In another place (XVII, 7, 5) he says that there was a cave on Mount Ida where Paris was said to have judged the three goddesses, and that in it the Idaean Dactyls first worked iron having learned the process from the Mother of the gods.¹⁰ There are various other passages which connect them with Rhea,¹¹ but these are of no assistance in this investigation. So much for the references to the Κωφοί in the literature.

What, then, can we gather from this material as to the subject of the play? The following facts:

1. That the Idaean Dactyls had some part in it.
2. That one of them, Celmis, was at least named.
3. That these Dactyls were called Phrygians.
4. That the people who received the fire from Prometheus figured in the play.
5. That Zeus was informed of what Prometheus had done and, in return, presented his informants with an herb that would confer immortality.
6. That they carried this away upon a donkey.
7. That through their stupidity a serpent got possession of the magic herb.
8. That, as the play was a satyr drama, the chorus must have consisted of satyrs.
9. That by the analogy of other plays the κωφοί or block-heads, can be no others than the chorus.

So much is sure. But there is still another passage that may be brought forward which has, I think, a direct bearing on the plot. In Plutarch's *Moralia*, I, p. 86 F (Πῶς ἂν τις ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν ὠφελοῖτο, ch. 2) the writer explains that when the satyr saw fire for the first time and wished to kiss and embrace it Prometheus said, "Goεῖ, you will mourn your beard." Stanley long ago conjectured that the line quoted,

τράγος γένειον ἄρα πενθήσεις σὺ γε

was taken from the *Prometheus Pyraeus* of Aeschylus—a natural conjecture because of the mention of Prometheus. In this he was followed by Butler who thought the style of the line

¹⁰ γενέσθαι δ' ἐν τούτῃ λέγεται καὶ τοῖς Ἰδαίοις Δακτύλοις οὓς σίδηρον ἐργάσασθαι πρώτους, μαθήσας τὴν ἐργασίαν παρὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν μητρός.

¹¹ See Pearson, *op. cit.*, II, p. 33, Frag. 365.

Aeschylean. He says in his discussion of it, "Ex Satyrico dramate fragmentum hoc procul dubio desumptum est, unde Aeschylō tribuerim; quod suadet orationis et argumenti color; neque enim citatur auctoris nomen." Nauck accepted the conjecture and printed the line among the fragments of the *Prometheus Pyrcaeus* in his *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. He has been followed more recently by Sidgwick in the Oxford text edition of Aeschylus, and by Smyth in his edition in the Loeb Series.

Besides the passage in the *Moralia* in which the line appears it is also quoted by Eustathius in his *Commentary on the Iliad* (p. 415, ll. 7 ff.). He says that in *Iliad*, III, 277 Ἡέλιος is equivalent to ὁ Ἥλιος. He calls this an Attic usage and then quotes the line which is found in Plutarch explaining that it means ὁ τράγε, πάνυ στερήσῃ γενέλου, εἰ τὴν φλόγα φιλήσει. Eustathius does not, however, mention Prometheus as the speaker.¹²

Still another allusion to the line is quoted by Nauck on the authority of Stanley. It is from Epiphanius, *Ancoratus*, p. 109A, but is of no importance for our present study.

It will be noticed at once that the line quoted by Plutarch has been assigned to Aeschylus on rather slender grounds. In spite of what Butler says I cannot find in it anything distinctly Aeschylean. In fact, it seems to me that it might with equal or greater probability be assigned to Sophocles. It would certainly fit in well with what is known of the plot of the Κωφοί from our other sources. Furthermore if one turns to Eustathius he will see that shortly after he quotes the line he refers to Sophocles twice (p. 415, ll. 13 and 19), and once not long before (p. 413 ll. 44 f.). This may be purely accidental, for he may have remembered the line from Plutarch; but, on the other hand, it is very clear that Eustathius made frequent use of Sophocles either directly or indirectly in writing his *Commentary*. A rapid search through the Third Book shows that in it he refers to Sophocles fourteen times and to Aeschylus but once. This is, to be sure, not proof, but it is an indication in favor of Sophocles.

¹² It might be pointed out that Shorey (*Class. Phil.*, IV, pp. 433 ff.) disputes the interpretation of Eustathius, though he does not question the attribution of the fragment to Aeschylus.

The question then arises as to how much of the work of the Greek tragic poets survived to the twelfth century. Pearson,¹³ following Valckenaer's suggestion,¹⁴ thinks that the lost plays of Sophocles had perished long before the time of Eustathius, and that he knew them only at second hand, that is, that his quotations and references were taken from various philological compilations. Jebb apparently did not hold that view.¹⁵ But, however that may be, the fact is clear that Eustathius or his source was making much more extensive use of Sophocles than of Aeschylus.

Our knowledge of the satyr drama of Sophocles was very obscure down to the year 1912 when A. S. Hunt¹⁶ published nearly four hundred broken lines of the *Ichneutae* from a papyrus found at Cyrrhynchus. From this we are now able to see how Sophocles handled his material in his satyr dramas. The source from which he drew the story for his plot was the Homeric Hymn to Hermes; but he modified it in such a way as to fit it for the stage and to give it dramatic unity. With this play before us as a model and with the various bits of evidence in regard to it already set forth above to build upon we are in a position to attempt a reconstruction of the plot of the *Κωφοί*. It seems to have been something as follows.

The scene was laid on Mount Ida in the Troad before the cave of the Idaean Dactyls who represented the older race of men. They have been busily engaged in working iron with the help of the fire recently given them by Prometheus. Whether Rhea was present or not cannot be determined. The play may have opened with a dialogue between Celmis and Prometheus in which the story of the gift of the fire was brought out. The chorus of satyrs then come dancing in with Silenus mounted on a donkey. They learn from Celmis about the marvelous new element and agree to take service with the Dactyls to help in working iron by its means.¹⁷ Prometheus warns them to keep

¹³ *Op. cit.*, I, p. lxvi.

¹⁴ *Opuscula*, I, pp. 337 f.

¹⁵ See Pearson, *op. cit.*, I, p. lxvi, note 1 and the references there given.

¹⁶ *Cyrrh. Pap.* IX, pp. 30 ff.

¹⁷ In another satyr play of Sophocles, the *Pandora*, the satyrs were represented in the service of Hephaestus working at the forge. It is,

away from the fire, but they disregard him and at once begin to meddle and experiment with it, with disastrous results. They get singed and burnt. This scene might last for some time and might be made very funny. After a time Zeus enters and the satyrs, who have had many a sad experience in their new employment, are only too ready to tell him of their grievances. When he learns from them what Prometheus has given the Dactyls he rewards them for their information with the gift of a magic herb which will confer upon them eternal life. The satyrs are delighted and put the herb upon the donkey's back while they celebrate with a dance. But the donkey wanders off and when he is recovered it is found that a serpent has got possession of the plant. Zeus has in the mean time withdrawn, and the satyrs vent their anger at the loss of their gift upon the unfortunate donkey. The play may have ended with the flight of the donkey pursued and belabored by his irate masters.

Such a plot would not transcend any of the known facts about the play, which, like the *Ichneutae*, could probably be presented with two speaking actors. If for this reason the *Ichneutae* was an early play, as Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and others have imagined, the Κωφοί would also be early. With a plot such as this the title becomes clear. The Κωφοί, as already stated, can be no others than the chorus. They are Blockheads not only because of their silly actions with the fire; but because they foolishly let slip away the means of possessing immortality which Zeus had put into their hands.

If we may carry conjecture a little further perhaps we may attribute tentatively to the Κωφοί two fragments of Sophocles hitherto unplaced. They are numbered 921 and 923. Both are quoted by Stobaeus without designation of the play. No. 921 reads:

σκαίοισι πολλοῖς εἰς σοφὸς διόλλυται

which Silenus may be imagined as saying ruefully after the loss of the magic herb. The other, No. 923, reads:

therefore, natural that in the Κωφοί they should appear serving the Idaean Dactyls in a similar way. The *Ichneutae* makes it clear that in the satyr dramas of Sophocles the chorus of satyrs might have little or no connection with Dionysus.

FURTHER COMMENT ON SUETONIUS, *NERO* 33. 1.

In this passage are enumerated some of the ways in which Nero showed disrespect for the memory of the Emperor Claudius. The list ends thus: *Denique bustum eius consaepiri nisi humili levique maceria neglexit.*

At first sight, the passive infinitive (*consaepiri*) is rather baffling. But the construction has an instructive parallel in *Tiberius* 41; and Suetonius apparently means to say that Nero's indifference was so great that he did not interfere to prevent the inclosure of the bustum of Claudius by a "wall" that was out of keeping with the circumstances.¹

Professor Rolfe finds it difficult to accept this interpretation, on the ground that it must have been Nero himself who inclosed the space.² Assuming this to have been the case, there is no difficulty in regard to the interpretation proposed.

Thus, Professor Rolfe inclines to the view that the inclosing wall was constructed some little time after the burial of Claudius. For at first Nero professed great regard for Claudius, and even ordered his deification; later his attitude changed.

If then, after Nero had begun to show his real feeling in the matter, he should have issued, in general terms, a perfunctory order for the embellishment of the bustum, it is quite conceivable that the persons charged with this task might think it permissible or even diplomatic to do a shabby piece of work.³ The meaning of the above quoted phrase would then be that this procedure so chimed with Nero's feeling that he did not interfere with what really was an insult to the memory of Claudius.

It does not seem possible to explain the use of the passive infinitive except upon some such basis.⁴

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¹ See a note on this passage in the *Classical Weekly*, XXVI, 151.

² *American Journal of Philology*, LIV, 362 ff.

³ Cf. *Tib.* 54. 2, where Suetonius speaks of the effect upon the sons of Germanicus when Tiberius gave evidence of a change of feeling toward them.

⁴ The single basis here suggested does not exhaust the possibilities of the case.

REPORTS.

RIVISTA DI FILOLOGIA E D'ISTRUZIONE CLASSICA, N. S. XI
(LXI) (1933), edited by Gaetano De Sanctis and Augusto
Rostagni. Fascicles 1-2.

Pp. 1-15. *Intorno al razionalismo di Ecateo*. Gaetano De Sanctis. An attempt to define the originality and the precise meaning of the beginning of Hecataeus' *Genealogies*, where the Milesian, affirming the rights of reason against tradition, founded the science of history. An examination of several of his fragments and of certain passages in Herodotus II shows that Hecataeus' greatness consists in his having been the first to confront a pseudo-historical tradition with perfect freedom of mind and in having taught that the traditions of one people must be sifted by comparison with those of others and that the former have no right to be given greater value simply because they belong to one's own people.

Pp. 16-43, 155-176. *Nuove ricerche e testimonianze sulla prima dottrina e sulle opere perdute di Aristotele attraverso gli scritti degli Epicurei*. Ettore Bignone. Much misunderstanding of Aristotle exists on the part of ancient writers on philosophy through their knowing his works only in part: either the exoteric—the youthful, Platonic, pessimistic writings, the only ones he himself published (with one addition)—or the esoteric—those rediscovered and first published in the Sullan age and the only ones we know—, but not both. Thus the pre-Sullan Arcesilaus ranked the Peripatetics among the philosophers in whose works were embodied assertions of scepticism, and Diogenes of Oenoanda, though of Roman-Imperial times, calls Aristotle a sceptic on the authority of his pre-Sullan source, a work undoubtedly of the Epicurean Colotes. Plutarch misses the (partial) truth in Colotes' and Arcesilaus' statements. The neo-Platonist Numenius' error in accusing Cephisodorus, the disciple of Isocrates, of having attacked Aristotle in ignorance of his work is due to Numenius' knowing only the esoteric writings and not the early Platonism of Aristotle. Finally, modern students of Epicurus have wrongly considered the esoteric works, whereas to Epicurus Aristotle was he of the dialogues and the exoteric works.

Pp. 44-57. *La figura di Favorino d'Arelate e due orazioni contestate a Dione Crisostomo*. Goffredo Mameli Lattanzi. A biographical and literary study of Favorinus of Arles, based on the testimony of Polemon and—much more trustworthy—Aulus Gellius, Philostratus and Favorinus' own extant writings, including the recently found *περὶ φύλης*. This last should give valuable

evidence, in respect to style and language, towards solving the question of the two orations falsely attributed to Dio Chrysostom.

Pp. 58-70. La spedizione scitica di Dario. Mario Attilio Levi. The Scythian expedition of Darius was not intended, as is generally supposed, as a mere demonstration to prevent future attacks from the North during an already foreseen expedition in the Balkans (if so, he would not have waited 20 years to carry out the latter), but was a real though unsuccessful, but not foolhardy, attempt to conquer Scythia (whose wealth Darius must have known) and to include the Black Sea in the Persian Empire.

Pp. 71-81. Miscellanea. I. Ancora sul "Pap. Heidelberg." ΚΑΤΑ ΑΙΣΧΡΟΚΕΡΑΕΙΑΣ. Quintino Cataudella. Suggestions for the restitution of the text and for the interpretation of some 10 lines of column II. II. Ios. "c. Apion." 1, 189. By the same. διαφοράν emended to διφθέραν (cf. Jos. Ant. 12, 89; the letter of Aristéas, *init.*). For the lacuna just preceding, after εαυτοῦ, is offered the reading <πιθανοῖς τε λόγοις ἐπεισεν τοῖς εαυτοῦ>, proposed by Vitelli. III. Sopra un epigramma alessandrino. Paul Künzle. New interpretation of an epigram published by Peek in *Bull. de la Soc. Roy. d'Arch. d'Alexandrie*, N. S. VIII (1932), 53 ff. and pl. VIII, whereby it seems possible that Callimachus, *Ep.* 15, is a genuine sepulchral epigram. IV. Sull'iscrizione greca di Enna. S. Ferri. Interpretation of a 3-word Greek inscription from Enna, Sicily, published by M. Guarducci in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1931, 389 ff. It is complete; ἀρχός = ἀρχων; line 2 = δᾶμ(ος). V. Replica sull'iscrizione di Enna. Margherita Guarducci. Reply to the foregoing by the first editor of the Enna inscription. Rejects Ferri's interpretation and suggests a new one; the inscription is *not* complete. VI. Stat., "Silv." II, 2, 121-26. A(ugusto) Rostagni. Emends the corrupt *tuto* of line 125 to *tupho* = τύφω.

Pp. 82-116, 236-278. Reviews and book notices.

Pp. 117-135, 279-282. Notes and news.

Pp. 136-144, 283-288. List of new publications received.

Pp. 145-154. L'iniziazione di Nerone da parte di Tiridate d'Armenia. Franz Cumont. In the ceremony attending Nero's bestowal of the title of king of Armenia upon Tiridates, brother of the Parthian king, in 66, Tiridates paid homage to Nero as if to Mithras. This accounts for Nero's popularity in Asia and for his conviction of his own divinity.

Pp. 177-188. Nuove *hypotheses* di drammi euripidei. Carlo Gallavotti. Fragmentary papyrus *hypotheses* (of c. 200 A. D.) of Euripides' *Rhesus*, *Phadamanitrys* and *Scyrii*, recently

acquired in Egypt, edited with comments. The text of No. 1, almost identical with that found in medieval MSS., shows how faithfully these *hypotheses* preserved the ancient reading and that their flatness of style is owing, not to late grammarians, but to their adaptation to school purposes. A comparison with the *Rhesus* itself shows also how faithfully the *hypotheses* follow the development of the drama. No. 2 gives no help on the problem of the authorship of the *Rhadamethys*. No. 3 confirms again the title "Σκύρις" as against "Σκύριαι". Nos. 2 and 3 tell something of the contents of these lost plays. No. 3 certainly refers to Euripides', not Sophocles', drama, and apparently was used by Apollodorus in his *Bibliotheca*. All three are of the anonymous type of Euripidean *hypotheses*, which may go back to Dicaearchus.

Pp. 189-210. I nuovi frammenti di commento agli *Aitia* e la polemica letteraria di Callimaco. Augusto Rostagni. A study of the first of the papyrus excerpts (saec. II or III *init.*) from the scholia on Callimachus' *Aitia* recently published by Norsa and Vitelli confirms Rostagni's own previous conclusions: the elegy of *P. Oxy.* XVII 2078 does belong to the Prologue of the *Aitia*, "Telchines" of line 1 of that elegy does refer to Apollonius Rhodius, the Prologue is closely connected with the *Aitia* proper, and the latter, together with its Prologue, is to be dated c. 270 B. C. There is no need of presupposing a second edition of c. 250-240. The men named in the present excerpt are not the "Telchines" attacked by Callimachus, but authors cited by the scholiast to explain the polemic.

Pp. 211-224. Sul nuovo Carme secolare dell'anno 204 d. Cr. Gino Funaioli. An examination of the new fragments of the *Acta* of the *Ludi Saeculares* of 204 A. D., with suggested restorations and a tentative reconstruction of the main lines of the *carmen*. The performance of 204 evidently followed closely the Augustan celebration. The poem, a little shorter apparently than Horace's, which it imitates verbally though in a different meter (dactyl. hexam.), was largely inspired by the ceremonies of the *Ludi*; it is of good workmanship, but seems to have enjoyed no reputation; the authorship can not be determined.

Pp. 225-235. Miscellanea. I. Pap. Gr. Vindob. 31954. Mario Segre. This fragment, hitherto unidentified, contains a small portion of the text of the spurious will of Alexander the Great, as given in Pseudo-Callisthenes (III 33, 11 f., ed. Kroll); there are several variants. II. Postilla. Gaetano De Sanctis. On the same fragment. This is now the oldest direct testimony of the history of the Alexander romance. It gives a text of Pseudo-Callisthenes anterior to its re-elaboration and closely related to the (Greek) text used by Iulius Valerius, whose Latin

version, like the present papyrus, rightly lacks the two Rhodian interpolations in the text of the will. The falsification can hardly be later than 200-50 B. C. III. Epigraphica. Margherita Guarducci. Textual and interpretative notes on 6 published Greek inscriptions: *I. G.* XII 3, 254; 5, 840; Comparetti, *Mem. Linc.* 1927, 245 ff.; Guarducci, *Riv. del R. Ist. d'Arch. e Stor. dell'Arte*, 1931, 25 f., n. 5; *Historia*, 1931, 231; *Riv. di Fil. Class.* 1932, 84 ff.

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PHILOLOGUS, LXXXVIII (N. F. XLII), 1933. Heft 1 and 2.

Pp. 1-15. Rudolf Pfeiffer, Die ΣΚΥΡΟΙ des Sophokles. The tragic trimeters published in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Vol. XVII, no. 2077, are to be considered a fragment of Sophocles' Skyrioi. The tragedy apparently dealt with the removal of Neoptolemus from the island of Skyros. An effort is made to reconstruct the incidents on the basis of the available evidence. The play is to be put in the period of the Ajax and the Antigone, long before the Philoctetes.

Pp. 16-29. Eva Sachs, Die Meleagererzählung in der Ilias und das mythische Paradeigma. The various forms of the Meleager story were derived from an ancient epic. This epic of the Calydonian hunt is relatively late. The influence of the epic on the Iliad is discussed, as is also the use of the paradigm in Homer. Much is made of the difference in psychological approach between Homer and other poets.

Pp. 30-41. Erik Peterson, Herkunft und Bedeutung der ΜΟΝΟΣ ΙΠΟΣ MONON-Formel bei Plotin. The formula is commonly used in Greek to describe a personal, private, confidential, or intimate relationship. The peculiarity of Plotinus consists in the fact that he has used this phrase for his own mystical and metaphysical ideas. In his use of the formula he owes nothing to the Neo-Pythagoreans. The article closes with some observations on the use of the formula by Jewish and by Christian authors.

Pp. 42-89. Alfred Klotz, Die römische Wehrmacht im 2. punischen Kriege. The evidence is examined for each year of the war, the varying strength of the Roman army is estimated, and the conclusion is reached that there is no reason to be suspicious of the reports of the annalists, since the preservation of much of the evidence is due to them.

Pp. 90-103. Hugo Hepding, ΡΟΥΦΙΝΙΟΝ ΑΛΣΟΣ. The grove of Rufinus was identical with the temple of Asclepius in

Pergamum which was considered one of the wonders of the world. The builder of the temple was L. Cuspius Rufinus, consul in the year 142 A. D. The history of the temple is discussed, and the point is made that the second century shows a particularly brilliant development of the cult of Asclepius.

Pp. 104-129. Ferdinand Mentz, *Die klassischen Hundennamen*. The sources are fourfold, 1. inscriptions; 2. specific mention of famous dogs in literature; 3. essays on nomenclature; 4. appearance of dogs' names in poetry or on mythological vases. An alphabetical list is given of all dogs' names derived from the above sources. The article is continued on a later page.

Pp. 130-132. *Miszellen*. Friedrich Stählin, *Zur Thessalischen Strategenliste*. An attempt to fix definite dates in the second century B. C. for the Philia inscription. A list is given of the strategi showing their families, their native regions, and the most exact dates that can be assigned to them.

Pp. 133-148. Werner Peek, *Korkyräische und kretische Epigramme*. Several inscriptions in the Corfu Museum are restored in such fashion as to show variations from Dittenberger's text. The article also includes a number of hitherto unpublished inscriptions.

Pp. 149-180. Ella Birmelin, *Die kunsttheoretischen Gedanken in Philostrats Apollonios*. The article begins with a list of all the passages in which Philostratus discusses artistic theory. A long analysis is given of the theory of imitation as found in Plato and in Aristotle, and the conclusion is reached that we have in Philostratus an ancient interpretation of the mimesis theory of Aristotle's *Poetics*, which Philostratus has put into the mouth of Apollonius. This was not original with Philostratus; where he derived it is not certain, although it seems probable that the interpretation belonged to the Peripatetic school. The article is continued on a later page.

Pp. 181-202. Ferdinand Mentz, *Die klassischen Hundennamen*. Continuation of the preceding article, pp. 104-129. The alphabetical list of dogs' names is carried forward. The article is continued on a later page.

Pp. 203-221. Karl Barwick, *Das Kultlied des Livius Andronicus*. The evidence shows that a ritual hymn was produced in 249, and that Livius Andronicus was the author of it. Certain questions have arisen about this hymn, but these are answered by showing that the story of another hymn in 207 is an error which arose through a later confusion in the dates of Andronicus.

Pp. 222-240. Johannes Stroux, *Die stoische Beurteilung Alexanders des Grossen*. The confusion in the philosophical

judgments of Alexander results from the absence of any authoritative and trustworthy historical picture of him. The early Stoic opinion, which goes back to Panaetius and his teacher Diogenes of Babylon, attributed the faults of Alexander's character to his early training, and to the fact that he had been badly taught, while the Peripatetics saw the root of the evil in the *regnum*, the *summa potentia*. This Stoic judgment seems to us unpsychological and unhistorical if we employ these criteria in the modern sense, but it is "characterological" in the sense of the Hellenistic philosophy which made ethical character and its virtues the criteria.

Pp. 241-243. Miszellen. Hugo Hepding, Zu dem Aufsatz ΠΟΥΦΙΝΙΟΝ ΑΛΣΟΣ S. 90 ff. Brief discussion of the recently published discoveries and inscriptions from Pergamum. In the light of these discoveries it is impossible to identify the large round temple in the middle of the east side with the temple founded by Rufinus. The building described by Aristides is this temple of Asclepius Soter, not the structure of Rufinus which was the temple of Zeus Asclepius.

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REVIEWS.

JOSEF KROLL. Gott und Hölle. Der Mythos vom Descensus-kampfe. (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg herausgegeben von FRITZ SAXL XX.) Pp. ix + 569. B. G. Teubner. Leipzig. 1932. 25 M.

This is the first volume of a comprehensive work and is already in itself a notable contribution to the study of ancient religion. No one who is concerned with later paganism and early and mediaeval Christianity can read it without learning something at every turn. The topic is the Harrowing of hell, in the popular Christian concept of a storming of it by Christ, which corresponded to the theological concept of his descent into Sheol in order to preach to the patriarchs. It has long been held by many that the first is essentially a product of mythological thinking, and that it has a long tradition of Oriental ideas behind it. Now we have a treatment of the material to which there is little to add apart from evidence which has come to light too late for Professor Kroll to use,¹ and the book will serve as an invaluable repertory. What is more important is the point of view, summed up in pp. 522/530; it is that the concept in question is not a concrete sharply defined mythological or theological idea, but a *Pathosformel*, one of those pictorial notions which, once they have come within the ken of men, take firm roots in or under the level of consciousness and exercise a strange and enduring fascination.

¹ For some addenda and corrigenda cf. K. Kerényi, *Gnomon*, IX (1933), 363 ff.; the articles of Cahrol and A. de Meester in *Dict. d'arch. chrét. et de lit.*, IV, 682 ff.; J. A. MacCulloch, *Enc. Rel. Eth.* IV 643 ff., and *The Harrowing of Hell* (1930); G. La Piana, *Le rappresentazioni sacre nella letteratura bizantina*; E. Ebeling, *Tod u. Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier*. I, has published a text describing the descent of an Assyrian king into the underworld, where he finds Nergal ruling, surrounded by 600 Anunnaki; a wicked priest on hearing the tale repents, also (no. 6 pp. 26 ff.) a fragment of the myth of Sumuqan, a god of cattle, dwelling in the underworld and raised by Istar, told to guarantee by analogy the cure of a sick man. Bell-Nock-Thompson, *Magical texts from a bilingual papyrus in the British Museum* (Proc. Brit. Acad. XVII) includes in a spell to compel a spirit (p. 19 A i 12 f.) ἐπι(ἐρε); σιδηρεῖς θύρας ῥήτω αὐτός. οὐκ ἐνὶ ἐπὶ ταύτας σε πέμψω; this is a vague phrase, in which there may be a hint of the gates of the underworld; usually the gates are of bronze, the bars of iron, but in Firmicus (Kroll 64), the prayer of Kyriakos (ib. 117), and the Syriac but not the Greek text of Hippolytus *De Pescha* (Griech. christ. Schriftst. I, ii, 238), the gates are of iron.

Is there not an idea of something like a descensus in the threat in the Warren magical papyrus edited by A. S. Hunt, *Studies presented to F. D. Griffith*, 234, ll. 12 ff.: εἰσελεύσομαι ἐσώτερος τῶν ἐπτά πυλῶν τῶν περὶ Δαρδανίην καὶ σίσω τὸ στερῆμα τῆς γῆς?

The history of religion is a history of feeling rather than of reason; so it is that people are but little troubled by inconsistencies between their beliefs and their instincts. It is not surprising that these inconsistencies are particularly marked in their attitudes to death, that for instance men use texts implying that the soul of the departed has passed to some wholly other plane of existence, and yet that they act and speak on the assumption that his real self is in the tomb (cf. *Harv. Theol. Rev.* XXV, 1932, 332 f.). So also they imagine the dead man as living in a neutral world, dark and dull, but fundamentally neither good nor evil, and yet in human resentment against the fact of extinction transform death, which they normally regard as an abstraction, into a hostile power. The story of Gilgamesh shows exactly the attitude of bewilderment and resistance which is involved. So again in Zoroastrianism Ahriman can be equated with death, and be called the god under the earth, although death is not to the Zoroastrian in his theological thinking a disaster, removing him for ever from the kindly care of Ahura Mazda, but a natural occurrence followed by the preliminary judgment at the Cinvat bridge and later by the resurrection at the last day. Even the less pictorial concept of the descent of Christ to save the patriarchs has involved theological difficulties of considerable magnitude.

The idea lives because of its pictorial qualities. Luther said frankly, "Bodily it did not happen so, because Christ remained in the grave the three days. But I am pleased with what is painted; that Christ descends with banner in hand, comes to hell, smites the devil and expels him, storms hell, and rescues his own. Thus the people would be led to believe that Christ has released us from hell."² *Mors et vita duello conflixere mirando; dux vitae mortuus regnat vivus* is allegory and poetry, not theology; it gives us the symbolic thinking of such works as the Odes of Solomon, set in the clear and pregnant idiom of Latin. It may be noted that even in ancient Rome we find a similar idea. Ennius, in one of his *saturae* or miscellany, described a contest of death and life;³ a century later Novius wrote an Atellane farce with the title *Mortis et vitae iudicium*.⁴ The underworld was a shadowy uncertain place—*fabulaeque Mares*—but death was a fact, and a fact which drew man to the dramatization of his destiny.⁵

² Quoted by Fr. Loofs, *Trans. III Congr. Hist. Rel.*, II, 291.

³ Quintilian IX, 2, 36; Vahlen, Ennius, ed. 2, 207.

⁴ Ribbeck, *Scaen. Rom. frag.* II (ed. 3), p. 320.

⁵ Thus in the dialogue between Alexander and the Indian sages in P. Berol. 13044 (last edited by G. von Manteuffel, *De opusculis Graecis Aegypti e papyris ostracis lapidibusque collectis* 117 ff.), the Brahman who is asked whether the dead or the living are more numerous, replies

This concept of the *Pathosformel* explains other things, as for instance the rhetorical use of words such as eternal and eternity to describe what you would wish to be true rather than what you could regard as even probable—as in fact just an emphatic expression of goodwill;—it explains also the popularity of words like *soteria*, *athanasia*, *isotheos*, *gnosis*, *phos*, *zoe*. Greek did not run to technical religious terms; but certain words and metaphors acquired glamor and emotional value. Something of this sort lies behind some of the antitheses which recur continually in early Christian hymns, and behind the various mythological ideas of the killing of a dragon⁶ and of the getting of the water of life. With such formulas it is hardly ever possible to draw long clear lines of development and descent; we can at most point to influential early types, which appear to have served as points of departure for subsequent evolution. For the harrowing of hell, this type is clearly to be found in Babylonia. This is natural in view of the emphasis in Babylonian religion on the idea that any sort of violent illness or great distress is in effect a death from which men needs to be delivered by some sort of ritual belonging to the type of sympathetic magic; the worsting of death therefore assumed particular significance. It is further easy to see how an idea could spread from Babylonia; Babylonian was, as Kroll remarks, an international language, and since Homer tells of the struggle of Heracles with Hades it may be worth while to refer to the fact that Dr. H. Frankfurt has published in *Illustrated London News*, July 22, 1933, a Babylonian seal with a scene bearing the closest similarity to the slaying of the Hydra.

The harrowing of hell thus appealed to the fundamental instincts of the Christians and found expression in what was sung rather than in what was written. Professor Kroll has urged that liturgical texts lie behind many of the formulations which have survived. With this I agree, but I cannot accept the idea that they crystallized around the Eucharist. Although the Eucharist acquired a dramatic sense, this was not original and it is certain that, while some habits of prayer and praise took shape before the end of the third century A.D., there were no elaborate Eucharistic liturgical texts for general use before the fourth century; all that we have earlier is model forms, that

(p. 118 col. ii, 15), The living; *ὁ δίκαιον γάρ, ἔφη, τῶν οὐκ ὄντων τοὺς ὄντας εἶναι πλεῖους*;

⁶ So in the varieties discussed by MacCulloch, *Harrowing*, 328; and in the Rhineland representations of the worsting of a giant who is half-snake, e. g. in F. Koepf, *Germanische Romanen* (ed. 2), IV, 11, 26 f.

To this use of the *Pathosformel* without regard to its relevance and suitability there is a parallel in some uses of folk-tale motifs; cf. R. M. Dawkins, *Folklore*, XLV, 1929, 20 ff.

of Hippolytus being expressly written for the benefit of a bishop having to celebrate for the first time.⁷ What did early attain fixity, and what is a far more likely region for this crystallization, is hymnology. The Christians who told Pliny that they were accustomed to meet on a fixed day before dawn *carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem* must have had a regular standard text, and the work with the title, *The Little Labyrinth*, quoted by Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* V, 28. 5, refers to the psalms or songs written from the beginning by faithful brethren, which celebrate the Word of God, even Christ, and speak of Him as God, as known to all. Any text which a congregation is to use must be settled, like the *Mystagogia* discussed by Kroll, 48 ff. and Kerényi, l. c., 367, in which the implications of the liturgy proper were put into a form which the faithful were to recite before the Eucharistic celebration began.

Hymnology is conservative; that is why it preserved and emphasized elements from that early stage of Christian development of which we know so little, in which the play of the imagination and of the enthusiasms was not checked by the authority of a body of canonical scriptures everywhere read and accepted and by the conservatism which was evoked by conflict with some phases of Gnostic thought. Something of the thought of this time has survived for us in Ignatius, in the Odes of Solomon, and in the Christianity of Edessa, but nothing more characteristic than this idea of the Harrowing of hell on which Professor Kroll has written so fine a study.

ARTHUR DARBY NOCK.

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ALJAMIADO TEXTS (A Rejoinder).

Dr. Andrew Runni Anderson's review (*A. J. P.* LII [1931], 85-88) of my "Compendium of Aljamiado Literature" contains several inaccuracies. I regret that prolonged absence in Syria and Spain kept me from seeing the review until very recently.

The primary purpose of my work was to present an exactly transliterated text of the *Rekontamiento*, to elucidate the obscure points, and to study its language from the point of view of Romance philology. But in order to present its general background I decided to add a brief account of the whole field of *aljamiado* literature and to include a tentative genealogy of the unknown Arabic original of the text, based on information then accessible to me.

⁷ Cf. *Journ. theol. stud.* XXX (1929), 387 f.

The reviewer begins with a strange comparison of "a duality of cultures, religions, and language—the Latin-Romance-Christian over against the Arabic-Moslem-Mohammedan". He apparently does not realize the incongruity of this comparison. A careful reading of my introduction might have contributed somewhat to his enlightenment on the subject. In this introduction I believe I have made it rather plain that the amount of *aljamiado* literature which has survived is not "but slight"; on the contrary, very large. At the Escuela de Estudios Árabes in Madrid, where last winter I saw through the press my edition of *El Cancionero de Aber Guzmán*, three students were busying themselves with *aljamiado* texts. One needs only to peruse Seavedra's catalogue and that of the Junta para Ampliación de Estudios to convince one's self of the fact. I do not know what makes the reviewer state that the *Prekontamiento* is "perhaps the most important monument of *Aljamiado* literature"; had he added "in prose", his statement might have had some validity, although a final judgment cannot be pronounced at the present moment when a large number of important prose texts still remain inedited.

As regards my friend García Gómez' *Un Texto Árabe Occidental de la Leyenda de Alejandro* I should rather say his text is by far more removed from the lost Arabic prototype of the Alexander legend than the one from which the *aljamiado* version had been made. [Cp. *MFh* XXIX (1931), 236-237.] Its most fantastic inventions appear nowhere in the Greek, Syriac or Ethiopian as far as I know. As regards Guillén Robles' text, it is not a transliteration, but an adaptation into modern Castilian, not Aragonese, as the reviewer seems to think. My absolutely exact transliteration (cp. Nallino in *Oriente Moderno* X [1930], 51-52) was the cause of my inability to publish the work at once, in 1921, on account of the prohibitive cost of printing. When in 1928 my late friend Fulché-Delbos decided to publish it in the *Revue Hispanique* (1929), the difficulties involved with the typesetting, reading and correcting the proofs (which had to travel between Mâcon and Milwaukee, where I had practically no reference works at hand) were so great that a few misprints and slips were unavoidable. In this respect I wish to refer to the review by one of the most competent authorities on the *aljamiado* literature, Prof. K. V. Zetterstéen in *Le Monde Oriental* XXIV (1933), 151-155.

At the end of his article Mr. Anderson comes to the subject of the sources of the Alexander romance. In order to show how "disastrous" my brief epitome of this vast field is, Anderson inaccurately reports some of my statements. My epitome was based on authorities then accessible to me and no specialist in the Alexander romance would have been able to do much better

in 1921. Besides, as I said before, my purpose was not to give an elaborate report of what was already known on the subject. By mentioning F. P. Magoun Jr.'s work (1929) I believed that anyone wishing a fuller treatment could find it there. I do not claim that the original was written in Egyptian, but merely state that such was Budge's supposition; hence I list Egyptian with a (?). Replacing one probability with another, as the reviewer does with the Armenian version, does not constitute the correction of an error. I do not doubt the existence of a δ -recension, but I only register, in a footnote, my very modest doubt as to this δ being "the source of both Leo and the Oriental versions." The reviewer's statements concerning Mubaššir show that he has not read with care Meissner's article on the subject in the *ZDMG* 49 (1895). There, p. 620, Meissner states the tolerable certainty "dass er (Mubaššir) im Wesentlichen einen auf Pseudocallisthenes zurückgehenden Alexanderroman benutzt hat. Ja man kann noch weiter gehen: Seine Vorlage muss zur Redaktion A gehören . . . und unter den Angehörigen dieser Gruppe zeigen seine Nachrichten in Namen und Begebenheiten die meiste Verwandtschaft mit der syrischen Version." P. 623: "Aber man findet auch Differenzen in der Erzählung, indem zuweilen der Araber und Ps. C. gegen S. zusammengehen." P. 624, n. 1 (concerning Adulites): "Jedenfalls hat Mubaššir diese Nachricht aus einem andern arabischen Bericht entnommen und nur zufällig an diese Stelle gesetzt." P. 625: "Dagegen ist es wahrscheinlich, dass Mubaššir wenigstens die meisten dieser Zusätze schon in seiner Quelle mit Ps. C. verarbeitet vorfand. Die Hauptquelle für Mubaššir war also jedenfalls eine durch theologische Zusätze erweiterte Bearbeitung des Pseudocallisthenes in einer S. sehr nahe verwandten Recension" (Meissner means of course "arabischen"). According to this, there would have existed an Ar x₁, based on S., but already mixed with other sources, which Mubaššir used. As regards the Ethiopian, cp. p. 583: "Indes zeigt die aethiopische Übersetzung, welche sicher aus einer arabischen geflossen ist . . . doch zur Genüge, dass das arabische Original, trotz einiger Zusätze nichts weiter war, als eine Bearbeitung des griechischen Pseudocallisthenes". Mubaššir's *Aḥbār el-Iskender* are based on his larger work, which is not extant. At any rate, the reviewer is wrong in implying that Mubaššir goes back directly to Syriac, without an intermediate Arabic version. Magoun's reference to this work, curiously metathesized to "Muššabir", is rather brief.

A. R. NYKL.

COMMENT ON DR. NYKL'S REJOINDER.

Dr. A. R. Nykl has taken exception to certain features of my review of his *A Compendium of Aljamiado Literature* published in this *Journal* nearly three years ago. The reason that I was asked to review such a work was probably that it concerned itself chiefly with a version of the Alexander legend in Aljamiado, *Brakontamiento del Rey Alexander*, and accordingly it is to Dr. Nykl's remarks on my criticism of his thesis as dealing with the work as Alexander legend that I limit my comments. Dr. Nykl's claim that "Anderson inaccurately reports some of my statements" is exaggerated. The one exception (not mentioned by Nykl) is to be found in my review p. 88, line 2 and lines 6-7, in both of which places my review said 'Arabic x' instead of 'Arabic x₁' in referring to his stemma on p. 41, where 'Arabic x₂' is represented as the common source both of Ae (Ethiopian) and of Mubaššir. (The subscript in 'Arabic x₁' is so small and so indistinct in my review copy as easily to be overlooked.) As regards my remarks on Mubaššir the brevity of my statement in which I derived Mubaššir directly from the Syrian version of 'the Pseudo-Callisthenes' without mention of an intervening Arabic version gave the impression of error. It was not, however, as charged by Dr. Nykl, that I had not read Meissner carefully enough, but that I had had the advantage not enjoyed by Dr. Nykl in 1929 of having read other material bearing on the subject, namely, the *History of Dulcarnain*, an Arabic Alexander Romance edited with Spanish translation by Emilio García Gómez, *Un Texto Árabe Occidental de la Leyenda de Alejandro*, Madrid, 1929, and thus published in the same year with Nykl and at that time unknown to him. The referring of the Ethiopian (*History of Alexander*) and of Mubaššir to the same immediate source, Arabic x₁, as indicated by Nykl in his stemma, could be defended in 1929, but it can no longer be defended now; for either Ae or Mubaššir must go out of the place where Nykl placed them; and preferably it is Mubaššir that should go out; for Mubaššir is much closer to the pure 'Pseudo-Callisthenes' than is either the extant Arabic *History of Dulcarnain* or the Ethiopian *History of Alexander*; for both of these, the Ethiopian *History of Alexander* and the extant Arabic *History of Dulcarnain*, as well as by implication the common source of both, the lost Arabic *History of Dulcarnain*, were strongly influenced both by the Syrian *Christian Legend Concerning Alexander*, dated shortly after 514/515 A. D., and by the Dulcarnain episode in the *Koran*, xviii, 82 ff., so strongly influenced that in them Alexander became Dulcarnain. In Mubaššir however there is no real trace of influence either from the Syrian *Christian Legend* or from *Koran*, xviii,

82 ff., and furthermore in Mubaššir Alexander remained Alexander, *el-Iskender*. Dr. Nykl should know this now, though this relation was not accessible to his knowledge in 1929. (In modern terms Mubaššir belongs fundamentally to the δ -recension with some additions from the α -recension and elsewhere. The δ -classification had not been established by Ausfeld when Meissner edited Mubaššir in *ZDMG.*, XLIX [1895].) There is also another reason why Dr. Nykl should not have located Mubaššir where he did in the stemma. Mubaššir died 1053/1054 A. D. 'Omāra, a younger contemporary of Muqātil, can not have lived long after 800 A. D. When Dr. Nykl in his stemma represents 'Omāra as a descendant two steps removed from Mubaššir, he commits an anachronism of first magnitude.

An elaborate stemma illustrating the 'Pseudo-Callisthenes' tradition was hardly required in Nykl's thesis; but any stemma, however condensed, should have been correct as far as it went. By all the rules of scholarship Dr. Nykl was responsible for material on his subject appearing up to 1929, but let him be granted 1921 instead, as he desires. When he says above: "My epitome was based on authorities then accessible to me and no specialist in the Alexander romance would have been able to do much better in 1921," he convicts himself either of ignorance or of a lack of candor. For although he did not know of Ausfeld, *Der griechische Alexanderroman*, Leipzig, 1907, he was not ignorant of Pfister, *Der Alexanderroman des Archipresbyters Leo*, Heidelberg, 1913, but failed to recognize him as an authority. For had he accepted Pfister, he would have avoided most of the errors that I pointed out. But to Pfister's ideas Nykl remained strangely impervious. Dr. Nykl's charge that I inaccurately reported some of his statements, is, except in the one unintentional instance as admitted above, baseless. When I stated that the original Alexander Romance was written in *Greek* and not in *Egyptian*, I meant that *Egyptian* (?), question mark and all, should have been left out of his stemma. When Nykl credits the Armenian version to Moses of Chorene without any question or doubt, he gives a view for which there is no direct evidence, and which is no longer held. If Dr. Nykl wishes us to believe that it was by Moses of Chorene, the burden of proof is on him. My statement that "The Armenian . . . is hardly by Moses of Chorene" is not the replacing of one probability by another, but the statement of present critical opinion concerning its authorship.

Dr. Nykl claims that his epitome was based on the best authorities then (1921) available. Authorities indeed! What authority ever dated Julius Valerius 100-340 A. D.? What authority ever grouped with the *Epitome* of Julius Valerius the *Epistolae*, and derived them (the *Epistolae*) from Julius

Valerius? In the Pseudo-Callisthenes manuscripts what authority ever equated α with $\beta + \gamma$? What authority ever dated the Syrian version of Pseudo-Callisthenes in 514 A. D., a confusion with the Syrian *Christian Legend* mentioned above? Equating Leo with HP (*Historia de Preliis*) and dating both about 950 A. D. is quite inexact. Dr. Nykl seems constitutionally unable to grasp the significance of the δ -family in the Pseudo-Callisthenes tradition.

A. R. ANDERSON.

DUKE UNIVERSITY.

CLOSING COMMENT.

Further explanations are unnecessary to the careful reader of the foregoing two articles and of my *Corpendium*. I might add that I have a few copies of it and should be glad to send them to those interested in the *aljamiado* texts. In addition to the reviews mentioned before, the following references might be useful: *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature* (February, 1930); *Litteris* VI (Dec. 1929), p. 201, n. 2; *Bulletin Hispanique* XXXII (1930); *Glasnik Škopskog Naučnog Društva* VII-VIII, 394-395; *Archiv* (Herrig's) 159 (1930), 310-311; *Neophilologus* XVI (1931), 212-215; *Revue Hispanique* LXXXI (1933), I, 250-255.

A. R. NYKL.

2 RUE DE LILLE, PARIS - VII.

Ein neuer Brief Epikurs, wiederhergestellt und erklärt von
CHRISTIAN JENSEN in Bonn (Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, dritte Folge, nr. 5), Weidmann, Berlin, 1933. Pp. 94.

Professor Jensen continues to demonstrate what can be done with the apparently hopeless rags and tatters of Herculaneum papyri which were unrolled and partly transcribed in the eighteenth century. When Jensen published the tenth book of Philodemus *περὶ κακίων* (Leipzig 1911), he made very little of the first ten columns. His recent discovery of the name of Metrodorus in fragmentary form led to the supposition that these columns might contain a quotation from one of Epicurus' letters. With this clue he has been able to construct a complete text for the parts preserved. The result is Epicurean in style and content and throws an interesting light on many points.

Besides the Naples and Oxford publications of transcriptions

Jensen has used the original manuscript transcriptions, which were sometimes fuller than those published. Furthermore, though the papyri as at present preserved have lost many fragments that were once legible, yet a reexamination has occasionally added new evidence. Jensen's hard-won mastery of the peculiar style of Epicurus and his sharp sight have enabled him to make a unique contribution in this field and one that deserves the highest praise. The papyri are legible only in direct sunlight and even then expert skill is required for valuable results.

It must be confessed that in lines where a majority of the letters are missing one is inclined to doubt the certainty of Jensen's readings. He would himself in some cases admit the possibility of alternatives; but I must confess for the most part that further study has only confirmed the plausibility of his supplements. His straightforward account of the data and his scrupulous adherence to methodical principles are exemplary. He has, moreover, discovered a valuable guide to the language of Epicurus in a formal rhythmical pattern found in the letters. He promises to provide in another volume an explanation of the rhythmical schemes which he prints in this. I expect that his studies will be important not merely for Epicurus but for such works as the *Epistles* of Plato, where it is apparent that there is a marked rhythm. When this can be schematized we shall have a new criterion of authenticity.

The subject matter of the letter corresponds to Plutarch's statement (*adv. Col.* 32, p. 1126 C) that Epicurus sent men to Asia to attack Timocrates the brother of Metrodorus who had offended the latter. Since the letter is largely apologetic, it provides useful clues to the character of Epicurus. Jensen rightly notes the significance of his willingness to accept out-cast women as associates on equal terms and of his appeal to Asclepius into whose mouth he puts a defense of himself. Professor Jensen has made a very important contribution to classical philology and philosophy.

L. A. POST.

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HAVERFORD, PA.

The Acts of the Apostles, a critical edition with introduction and notes on selected passages by ALBERT C. CLARK. Oxford, 1933. Pp. lxxii + 427.

This edition of the Acts is the ripe fruit of Professor Clark's lifetime of textual study. His main thesis is that the codex Bezae, which contains a text considerably longer than that of

other ancient Greek manuscripts, represents the original. This was systematically shortened by an editor who frequently omitted complete lines to form a shorter version. By reproducing in his text the sense lines of codex Bezae and printing in heavy type the passages omitted in the others he makes it easy to follow his reasoning. There is ample evidence that texts are sometimes intentionally shortened. It is evident that a text divided into sense lines would lend itself to this procedure. Clark points out, what is obviously true, that it is easier to omit than to add, especially if the additions are to be in the same style as the rest, and they are in Acts. Clark uses the evidence of Syriac and Latin translations and of papyri to prove the antiquity of the longer text. He protests against the customary misnomer, *Western text*, and plausibly maintains that the illiterate Latin of the Latin side of the codex Bezae is more likely to have originated in a non-Latin community such as Alexandria.

Even those who are not inclined to accept Clark's main thesis will welcome his acute and fresh treatment of many passages and his full statement of the subsidiary sources of the longer text. His championship of this text will probably also lead editors to a more eclectic treatment of sources. There has recently been in many cases a pronounced reaction against the type of editing which followed more or less blindly the one 'best' manuscript. There is no substitute for intelligence. It must be urged against Clark that omissions of sense lines are less evidential than omissions which leave a flaw in the sense, for additions would also be additions of sense lines in most cases. Now additions as a rule get into texts because they have been placed in the margin as explanations. Many of the additional clauses and paragraphs in Acts are exactly what an officious and pedantic annotator might have added to interpret what he conceived to be ambiguities or omissions in the shorter text. What is certain is that there are mistakes on both sides. In any case the work is an important contribution to paleography.

L. A. POST.

Compositiones ad Tirgenda Musiva herausgegeben übersetzt und philologisch erklärt. Inaugural-Dissertation von HJALMAR HEDRÖRS. Uppsala 1932, Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri-A.-B. Pp. xviii, 227. 1 fac-simile.

The famous Lucca MS of the Liber Pontificalis, recently analyzed by Schiaparelli [see *AJP* XLVI (1925), 195], in-

cludes a brief manual for the paint-mixer and mosaic-worker, written in Vulgar Latin so remarkable that Paul Meyer long ago called on Italian scholars for a modern edition, Muratori's being inadequate. It has remained however for a Swedish pupil of Sjögren and Thörnell to attempt the difficult task. He gives us what appears to be an accurate transcription of the text, a German translation and an interesting commentary. I have compared various articles with corresponding ones in the contemporary Lorsch Pseudo-Galen (Vat. Lat. 187), but they evidently come from different sources; the Pseudo-Galen is far fuller, also. Hedfors' work appears accurate, and the Tingenda Musiva now takes its place, in this handy volume, beside the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, etc., as an essential text for the student of the breakdown of Latin.

C. U. CLARK.

THE CITY COLLEGE, NEW YORK.

LUIGI SCHIAPARELLI. *Note Paleografiche*. (Estratto dall' "Archivio Storico Italiano," Serie VII, vol. XVI, 2 (1931).) Florence, Leo S. Olschki, 1932. Pp. 28; 2 plates.

After studying the origins of Visigothic (see *AJP* LIII 91), Schiaparelli here attacks the Merovingian problem. He defines Merovingian as the native minuscule used in the Frankish territory (extending to Savoy and Piedmont) before the Caroline reform; in the earliest dated example, a diploma of Lothaire II (625), it is already characteristic. Schiaparelli derives it from the Roman cursive and thinks the latter survived beside it for some time; the famous Paris Avitus, which he sets in the 6th century, is for him the earliest MS in Merovingian. He thinks the hand arose in the chancery of the Merovingian kings; he differentiates it from the other Frankish pre-Caroline hands, like the Luxeuil and Corbie types, which it much influenced. He adds a careful study of individual letters and two pages of letters, ligatures and abbreviations in facsimile.

C. U. CLARK.

THE CITY COLLEGE, NEW YORK.

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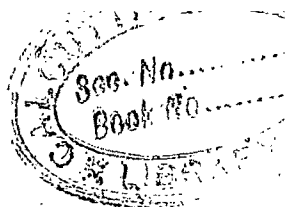
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EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENT.

Beginning with the next number, Professor B. D. MERITT, of the Johns Hopkins University, will assume the editorship of this JOURNAL. I bespeak for the new management the same goodwill and hearty coöperation that were accorded to the old.

C. W. E. Miller.



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THE *HERACLIDAE* OF EURIPIDES.

The theme of the *Heracleidae* is how the children of Heracles under the care of Iolaus and Alcmena were driven from city to city throughout Greece, fleeing the wrath of Eurystheus, king of Argos, who hated them for their father's sake. At last they found asylum at Athens, whose king, Demophon, refused to hand them over to the herald of Argos. Then Eurystheus, invading Attica with a great army, met defeat and his own death. In the play we are also told that a daughter of Heracles voluntarily offered herself as a sacrifice to secure the victory of the Athenians and the deliverance of her brothers. It is the treatment of this episode which has caused considerable difficulty to those who would appreciate the play. After the devoted girl has left the stage to meet her fate, nothing more is heard of her at all. Alcmena, who enters immediately after her granddaughter's departure, makes no mention of her. If she is aware that one of her charges has slipped out of the temple, she expresses no curiosity concerning her. Nowhere in the drama are we even told that the sacrifice was carried out.

This uncanny silence (taken in conjunction with certain other factors which will be discussed below) has provoked the suggestion that there is a large lacuna in our texts which originally contained the scene or scenes in which the sacrifice received that elaboration of treatment which Euripides knew so well how to bestow on such a lofty theme. First proposed by Hermann,¹ who placed the lacuna at the very end of the drama, this view

¹ Matthiae, *Euripidis Tragoediae et Fragmenta* (Lipsiae, 1824), VIII, p. 257.

was accepted substantially by Kirchhoff² and Nauck³ with the difference that the supposititious lacuna was transferred to a position immediately after the scene in which the heroic maiden departs and the Chorus briefly hymn her virtues. This modification of Hermann's view was subsequently adopted and further elaborated by Wilamowitz,⁴ whose trenchant exposition of it has commanded the assent of most later criticism.⁵ According to Wilamowitz the play found its present form at the hands of some fourth century producer more preoccupied with the exigencies of his own production than with the preservation of the text of Euripides. Let us notice at once that this theory does not get over the difficulty that towards the end of the play when Alcmæna is justifying her plan to murder Eurystheus she makes no mention of her grand-daughter's death, though she might have made a very plausible pretext out of it. Moreover, even if we assume that the heroism of the maiden was adequately celebrated in some lost scene, it still remains rather incredible that it would not have received at least passing mention later on. Also, the Messenger who enters at v. 630 finds Iolaus in the same position he was in at v. 607. Thus, if we are to assume a lengthy lacuna after v. 629, we must also assume that the verses immediately following that verse have been reshaped to hide the gap. This further assumption is organic to the theory

² *Euripidis Tragoediarum*, II, adnot. ad *Heraclid.*, 627.

³ *Euripidis Opera* (Teubner), *præfat.*, p. 59.

⁴ *Excursus zu Euripides Herakliden*, *Hermes* XVII (1882), pp. 336-364. Hereafter, to save space, all references to Wilamowitz are to this excursus, except where it is otherwise stated.

⁵ Not all, however. For example, Pflugk, in his edition of the play, Weleker (*Griech. Tragödien*), Farnhaber (*de tempore quo Herakliden et composuisse et æcuisse Eurip. videatur*), and Hartung (*Euripides Restitutus*) have maintained that in the present play we have substantially what Euripides wrote. So also Wecklein (*Jahresber. über die Fortsch. der class. Altert.*, 1882, and *Blätter für das bayer. Gymnasialschulw.*, 1886, both in criticism of Wilamowitz), and among modern editors Ammendola and Meridier. See also the recent dissertation (*Untersuchungen zu Euripides*, Würzburg, 1931) of R. Sauer, whose hypothesis is that we have here merely a hasty sketch, perhaps never actually produced, that the poet laid it down on certain lines, then remodelled it to incorporate the Macaria scene, but did not take the trouble to complete the remodelling. [This dissertation came to the writer's hands too late to receive fuller notice in this paper.]

of Wilamowitz, who finds γν. 630-680 very objectionable. And objectionable they are, to be sure, but only to the theory with which they do not agree; that seems to be their only offense. Let us first see whether the basic assumption is justified.

Here it is highly important to notice some facts, commonly regarded as having strong evidential value in this connection, which are really of dubious significance.

Firstly, the exceptional brevity of the play as it stands is no evidence of a lacuna. Surely the dramatist may make his drama just as long or short as he pleases or as the circumstances require. Also the *Heracleidae* with its 1055 lines is actually longer than the *Cyclops* and the *Rhesus* with 705 and 996 respectively, and it is not much shorter than the *Alcestis* (1163). Since we do not know the circumstances of its production or anything about the other plays with which it may have been presented, we are not at liberty to read any meaning into its brevity or base any conclusions thereon.

Secondly, altogether too much weight may be attached to the existence of certain fragments commonly assigned to our play which do not occur in it as we have it. Even if the assignment were certain, nothing more would be established than that there are in the text of our play some of those injuries which time has inflicted on all Greek tragedies. As a matter of fact a close examination of the fragments will disclose that there is very little certainty about the business. One of them (fr. 219 Dindorf), quoted by Stobaeus (1, 8),

τρεῖς εἰσιν ἀρεταί, τὰς χρέων σ' ἀσκέειν, τέκνον,
θεούς τε τιμᾶν τοὺς τε θρέψαντας γονεῖς
νόμους τε κοινοὺς Ἑλλάδος· καὶ ταῦτα δρῶν
κάλλιστον ἔξεις στέφανον εὐκλείας ἀεί,

is also assigned to the *Antiope*. Another (fr. 848),

ὅστις δὲ τοὺς τεκόντας ἐν βίῳ σέβει,
ὅδ' ἐστὶ καὶ ζῆν καὶ θανὼν θεοῖς φίλος·
ὅστις δὲ τὼ φύσαντε μὴ τιμᾶν θέλῃ,
μὴ μοι γένοιτο μήτε συνθύτης θεοῖς
μήτ' ἐν θαλάσῃ κοινόπλουν στέλλοι σκάφος,

is quoted by Orion (*Floz. Eur.* 7, p. 56, 2) without any indica-

tion of the play from which it comes; it is Stobaeus (79, 2), quoting the first two lines only, who notes that they are from the *Heracidae* of Euripides. Rather he seems to do so, but there is some doubt about the manuscript tradition and it has already been suggested (by Nauck) that perhaps the fragment should be referred to the *Cressae*, especially as the two plays are confused elsewhere (105, 26) in Stobaeus. A third fragment (fr. 849)

τὸ μὲν τφαγῆναι δεινότ., εὐκλειαν δ' ἔχει.
τὸ μὴ βαίνειν δὲ θειλόν, ἡδονὴ δ' ἐνι,

is in even worse case. It occurs both in Plutarch (*Mor.* p. 447 E) and Stobaeus (7, 9), but the former indicates neither dramatist nor drama, while the latter actually seems to assign it to the *Heracles*; the reference to our play rests on a conjecture of Nauck. It will be noted how largely we are dependent on Stobaeus, of whom Pflugk remarks (*Heraclid. praef.*, p. 20): "*Stobaeum in commemorandis scriptorum nominibus librorumque titulis perambiguae fidei esse constat.*" Thus the external evidence is, to say the least, inconclusive, and we are on no firmer ground when we turn to the consideration of internal probability. Of fragment 219 Wilamowitz says: "this fine sentence gives the quintessence of the drama." It is easy to concede that, especially as the virtues recommended therein are of the nature of commonplaces and might fit almost any drama with a homiletic tendency, but it is not so easy to suppose, as he suggests, that the lines are addressed to Demophon. They are much more like the sentiments which we would expect him to preach to others. Moreover they seem to echo the words of Eurystheus at v. 1010 and would more appropriately occur near the end of the play, if we admit them at all. Fragment 848, we are next told, seems to contain the closing words of the Messenger (probably Demophon himself would return) who brings the description of the death of Macaria. On the other hand, there is the objection⁶ that the lines do not apply to Macaria, who gives her life not for her parents but for her brothers. Fragment 849 has been regarded as part of a lost discussion of the rightness of the self-sacrifice. It seems more like a variation

⁶ Wecklein: *Blätter f. das bay. Gymn.*, 1886.

of the theme "to be, or not to be" and would seem more at home in the mouth of the maiden herself in that scene where she decides to die (cf. vv. 533-534). In any case, it is difficult to see either the desirability or the necessity of such a post-mortem as the fragment is said to indicate. There remains the remark of the scholiast at v. 214 of the *Equites* to the effect that that verse is parodied from a verse in the *Heraclidæ* of Euripides, but here again a pretty controversy has arisen concerning the value of this last piece of evidence.⁷

The third appeal which the advocates of a large lacuna in our play like to make is to certain scholia which tell of honours done to the tomb of the slaughtered maiden. In this connection Willamowitz has shown⁸ rather conclusively that they all derive from one and the same source and that the original commentator, whose explanation of the proverb βάλλ' εἰς μακαρίαν has been repeated by all the others, borrowed his details of the honours heaped on the courageous girl from that scene in the *Hecuba* which describes the sacrifice of Polyxena. Thus this testimony is so far from establishing the original presence of such an episode in our play that it seems to work the other way.⁹

Fourthly, there is the Argument prefixed to the play where we read: ταύτην μὲν οὖν εὐγενὲς ἀποθανοῦσαν ἐτίμησαν. The play as we have it contains no such scene. On the other hand, Arguments are not always models of perfect accuracy, and in any case the reference may only be to such verses as 622-629. Again, we do not know the date of the Argument. If it belongs to the age which also produced the above explanation of the proverb βάλλ' εἰς μακαρίαν, the reference to the tributes paid to Macaria would come in quite naturally, though such tributes were merely

⁷ γάρπτε καὶ χόρδεν' ὁμοῦ τὰ πράγματα παρῴδησε . . . ἐξ Ἡρακλειδῶν Εὐριπίδου. See the discussion of this piece of evidence by Pflugk (*Heraclid.*, ed. Pflugk-Klotz, *præf.*, pp. 20-21) who suggests that the scholiast is in error and that the line is really parodied from the *Ion* of Sophocles.

⁸ *Index Scholarum in Universitat. litteraria Gryphiswaldensi, ann., 1882, De Euripidis Heraclidis Commentatiunculæ.*

⁹ *Index Schol., supra cit.*, p. vii: *Euripidem eadem etiam in Heraclidis habuisse nemo facile sibi persuadebit; grammaticus vero a Polyxena ad Macariam transferebat quibus coniecturæ quam de proverbii origine commendabat fidem conciliaret.*

indicated, not described, in the actual play. But the credentials of the Argument have been called into question.¹⁰ In it there is no mention of either drama or dramatist. Moreover, in the play the oracles prescribe a sacrifice to Proserpina, not (with the Argument) to Demeter. We might also add (i) that the writer of the Argument states that Iolaus is the nephew of Heracles, a relationship which Euripides either did not know or deliberately ignored, since it is hardly conceivable that he thought of the decrepit Iolaus and the children of Heracles as belonging to the same generation, with Alcmena standing in *loco aviae* to all of them;¹¹ (ii) that the herald of Argos and the daughter of Heracles, both anonymous in our drama, have already found proper names in the Argument; (iii) that the *τὴν εὐγενεστάτην παρθένον* of the Argument is not an accurate description of what the oracles demanded (408-409). Altogether it seems probable that our Argument is a fragment of a general summary of the traditions relating to the expedition of Eurystheus against Athens, as these traditions were current long after the composition of the *Heraclidae* of Euripides, and that it was tacked on as a sort of précis to a drama with which it only imperfectly corresponded. We shall come back to the Argument in the discussion of our own theory of the lacuna.

If then our reasoning is sound, we are left with but one ground for the hypothesis of a large lacuna. It is the principle on which Wilamowitz himself sought to work: "Ein Kunstwerk soll ein *ἐν σῆμῳ, ἔχον καὶ ἄρχήν καὶ μέσον καὶ τέλος*; aus der Oekonomie des vorliegenden Stückes muss die Verstümmelung, an welcher heute kein Urteilsfähiger zweifelt, zu erhärten sein." An excellent criterion, to which we shall return, but rather difficult to apply, since the existence of a large lacuna (e. g. the omission of an entire scene) somewhere or other in the play may

¹⁰ Gotthold: *In Euripidis Heraclidas observationum spec.* I (*Progr. Regimonti*, 1827), p. 2. His three main points (the two quoted above, and the fact that the Argument places the action at Athens, not at Marathon) have been assailed by Vornhoff (*De lacunis quae exstant in Euripid. Heraclidis, Cottbus.*, 1872) but, in the case of the first two, may be considered to have survived the assault. As for the third, the situation is less certain, but cf. Wilamowitz, *Index Schol.*, *supra cit.*, pp. xiii-xiv.

¹¹ Elmsley: *Heraclid.*, v. 39; Pflugk-Klotz, *praef.*, p. 15.

give us an entirely erroneous conception of the "Oekonomie des Stückes." It would be a grievous error to rest our hypothesis of the lacuna and its whereabouts on a hypothesis of the economy of the play which in its turn rests on our hypothesis of the lacuna and its whereabouts. In the present case the missing scene (if we are persuaded that there is a missing scene) may be either in the middle or at the end of the play. Wilamowitz, proceeding on his principle that both the beginning *and* the end must be held to be unassailable, decides that the lacuna occurs at v. 629. But is the end of the play above suspicion? The reasons he gives are inconclusive at the best, and there are weighty considerations which point in the other direction. We shall touch on this point later. Meanwhile let us examine more closely the Macaria scene, remembering that not even the hypothesis of Wilamowitz explains the entire absence of reference to the scene in the later part of the play, unless we are to assume a remodelling of such dimensions that Euripides may be regarded as the author of our piece only in a rather attenuated sense, a remodelling, moreover, which nothing else but the exigencies of the hypothesis in question would ever lead us to suspect.

The scene is in many respects highly remarkable. In the first place the whole business is very much of an "episode," in the Aristotelian sense of the word. It is not essential to the working out of the plot. This of course is not in itself a proof of spuriousness. In other respects, also, Euripidean usage hardly squares with Aristotelian theory. But, generally speaking, Euripides is not episodic in the sense referred to. (Aristot. *Poet.* IX, 10: τῶν δὲ ἄλλων μύθων καὶ πράξεων αἱ ἐπεισοδιώδεις εἰσὶν χεῖρισται. λέγω δ' ἐπεισοδιώδη μῦθον ἐν ᾧ τὰ ἐπεισόδια μετ' ἄλληλα οὐτ' εἰκὸς οὐτ' ἀνάγκη εἶναι. τοιαῦται δὲ ποιοῦνται ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν φαύλων ποιητῶν δι' αὐτοὺς, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν διὰ τοὺς ὑποκριτάς.) Usually every scene has a necessary (or probable) connection with the drama. The nearest approach to the purely ornamental scene in Euripides is probably the self-immolation of Evadne in the *Supplices*. And even that scene is not so much ἐπεισοδιώδης as παραπληρωματικός. It is outside the action; it serves merely to fill out and prolong. Another scene which is often regarded as episodic contains the death-resolve of Menoeceus in the *Phoenissae*. The criticism is scarcely deserved, and is met by Weck-

lein (*Phoenissen*, p. 18): the scene is for contrast; the action of Menoeceus is incorporated in the plot to explain how in spite of the stupid fury of Etæocles and the fact that the gods were bound to support the righteous cause of Polynices the city was nevertheless saved from capture. The scene also serves the purpose of throwing light on Creon's character in preparation for the later scene (Howald: *Gr. Trag.* p. 172). Thus we see that the Macaria scene is more unique than is commonly supposed. Moreover, in the various legends, current in Attic, Boeotian, and Peloponnesian mythology, relating to the children of Heracles, there is no mention of their deliverance from death through such an act of sisterly self-sacrifice.¹² The heroic girl would seem to be an invention of the dramatist. Then, as we have seen, she is nameless in the play. Nowhere are we told who this daughter of Heracles is. And it is not merely throughout the play that she remains nameless, but probably for one or two hundred years after it.¹³ Now it is a strain on our credulity to try to believe that Euripides grudged a name to a person to whom he did not grudge a glorious rôle in his play. In the *Supplices* Evadne receives more chivalrous treatment, though she is merely a minor ornament of the drama and cannot be compared with Macaria either in heroism or dramatic importance. This anonymity of the heroine robs the scene of all individual interest.

Again, her entrance is feebly motivated and entirely unexpected. Indeed it would not be unfair to say that it is quite *casual*. She is very apologetic about it all, she does not usually behave like this, but the στενάγματα of Iolaus have brought her out to learn what the trouble is. Now, it is true that Iolaus has just addressed a very sorrowful harangue to the little children, but there has been nothing resembling the ringing lamentations which are usually employed by the Greek tragedians when they wish to supply an entrance cue to a character off stage. In that sense there have been no στενάγματα. And if Macaria means that she has overheard the last utterances of the old man, why does she need to inquire after the nature of the trouble? There is the further *technical* difficulty that the man-

¹² For a review of these legends, see Méridier: *Les Héraclides* (*Collection des Universités de France*), pp. 179 ff.

¹³ The point is discussed by Wilamowitz, *Index Schol.*, *supra cit.*, pp. iii ff.

ner of her entrance is quite against the usual Euripidean practice. In all his other plays, once the prologue is over and the dialogue has got under way, no character ever enters for the first time unannounced, except at the end of a lyrical passage.¹⁴ To the modern taste, indeed, there often seems to be excessive artificiality in the care which is taken to let the audience know who is who on the stage. Yet in the scene under discussion, though Demophon, Iolaus, and the Chorus could all prepare us for her entrance, she bursts on the scene without a word from them. Rather strange conduct in the light of the words of Iolaus at vv. 43-44.¹⁵

There is another difficulty, also partly technical, but at the same time passing beyond considerations of mere dramatic technique. Contrast the scene before us with those others in which the poet presents the sacrifice of a young girl, Polyxena in the *Hecuba* and Iphigeneia in the *Iphigeneia in Aulide*. Euripides is particularly adept at varying his metres to suit the moods and emotions of his characters. In exalted moments the calm iambics are dropped; only music is fit to carry such a burden. So Polyxena and Iphigeneia cannot just speak; they must sing. This use of lyrical utterance is seen also in the *Hippolytus* where Phaedra wrestles with her lovestricken soul, in the *Andromache* where death is threatening a mother and her child, in the *Orestes* where Electra waits for Hermione outside the palace within which Helen is to be slain, and in the *Suppliants* where Evadne can no longer live on, with her husband dead. Yet Macaria calmly talks herself to death in iambic trimeters.¹⁶

¹⁴ This does not apply to the entrances of gods and goddesses. Apart from the merely apparent exceptions (e. g. *Electra* 82 and 761), we have the unannounced appearance of the Pythia in the *Ion* (1320) and the entrance of the Messenger at v. 597 of the *Helena*. In the former case her dress and her exit from the shrine would probably be an adequate introduction. Anyhow, all eyes at the time are on the central figures of Creusa and Ion, each preoccupied with the other. In the second instance, it is only a Messenger, who can hardly expect to receive the ceremonious treatment of more important characters. Also, we already know that Menelaus has left his companions in the cave and we are almost expecting what follows.

¹⁵ πὰς γὰρ παρθένους αἰδοῦμεθα | ὅχλῳ πελάζειν κάπιβωμιοστατεῖν.

¹⁶ Menoeceus, of course, is very matter-of-fact about his self-slaughter

We are now face to face with the chief objection to the whole scene, its awful weakness and abysmal bathos. We have already touched on the lack of all individual interest in the nameless heroine. Then there is her frigid justification of her claim to be told what the trouble is about, a very necessary justification since we all know that it is not she, but Alcmena who should have been informed of the new disaster, if anybody was to be informed. Again, the very suddenness of her decision to offer herself as a sacrifice has caused the critics some discomfort, aggravated further by the rather unceremonious assent of Iolaus, who seems to be mainly concerned that he shall in no way be held responsible for the action of Macaria. As Wilamowitz sees, so little is made of it all, the sacrifice seems so easy, that we actually feel nothing heroic in it; she is giving up nothing. And how miserably prosaic and inappropriate in the mouth of a young girl are her last words: if there is any life beyond the grave, she will have the consolation of her *mens sibi conscia recti*, but she quite decidedly hopes that death will prove the end of all consciousness, for things are in a pretty mess indeed if mortal anxieties are to vex us over there. In short, Macaria is a bit of a prig. Even in the face of death she finds time to advise Iolaus on the education of her little brothers. Euripides doubtless makes some of his characters utter very surprising sentiments, but is it not almost incredible that "the most tragic of poets," who even in his earliest plays shows such unequalled skill in the portrayal of the pathetic, could have sunk so low as this? Psychologically untrue, aesthetically unpleasing, economically unnecessary, the scene is wholly miserable.

But, if nowhere in the play are we prepared for this scene, if at no subsequent stage does any of the characters seem to be aware that there was such a scene, if the technique thereof is quite out of line with the usual practice of Euripides, if the whole scene, in conception and execution, seems totally unworthy of our dramatist, and in addition rather interferes with than assists the development of the plot, are we not directed to the

in the *Phoenissae*, but his position is so different. He is a young man, exposed to an atmosphere charged with patriotic fervour, himself presumably too young to fight, who jumps at the opportunity of "doing his bit." The dramatist's portrayal here is psychologically sound; this is no occasion for lyrics.

conclusion that the offending scene was no part of the original play but was added by a later and a weaker hand?

That the pooriness of the scene presents a genuine difficulty, the attempts made to explain away its weakness prove.¹⁷ To excuse is to accuse. These attempts vary according to whether Iolaus or Athens is to be regarded as the 'hero' of the play, but the gist of all of them is that any real elaboration of the scene, any attempt to develop the character of Macaria, would divert attention from the central issue. Such advocacy is deadly to the cause of its own client. It concedes the point which completes its damnation, namely, that the scene has no function to perform within the plan of the drama. Why then did the poet introduce the episode at all? If his policy was to add variety to the course of things, to tickle the ears and eyes of the groundlings, why did he not take the trouble to make a better job of it, as we know he so eminently could?

Here we might raise a point that does not seem to have received due notice from the editors and critics. The oracles seem to have spiked the guns of Athenian good intention. Then, we are told,¹⁸ "the entrance of Macaria resolves the deadlock by a bold *coup de théâtre*," for which there is nothing in the tradition. But be it noted that the arrival of Hyllus with his improbable army is equally a bold *coup de théâtre*, for which there is nothing in the tradition. It plays the same part in the development of the story as the Macaria scene is said to play. Admittedly Hyllus has to be in at the death, but there is no reason why he could not have returned in dejection, having found no allies anywhere, thereby increasing the glory of Athens. We ask the question: why two bold *coups de théâtre*, when one would be enough, why fly *twice* in the face of all tradition?

If we reject the Macaria scene, what do we retain, what other alterations are necessitated by our excision? We would retain everything up to v. 474 and everything after v. 629. Then we merely have to assume that Iolaus, thinking his cause is definitely lost with the refusal of Athens to assist him, lies down in despair on the altar steps and covers his face with his cloak.

¹⁷ Cf. Pflugk-Klotz, p. 20. Also Welcker (*l. c.*), Firnhaber (*l. c.*), and Hartung (*l. c.*).

¹⁸ Méridier, *l. c.*, p. 185.

Then the Chorus may have commented on the sudden turn of events (vv. 607-616 would be appropriate here), but that is not necessary. Then the Messenger enters with his good news and Iolaus emerges. It might be noted here that the strophe (607-616) is not very appropriate in its present position at the close of the Macaria scene. She has just rescued the whole situation and made victory certain, whereas the strophe is a song of resignation in defeat. In the *Hercules Furens* Megara expresses exactly the same sentiments (309-311) when her cause seems to be quite hopeless. Thus it is possible that this strophe found a place in the original play after Iolaus resigned himself to the apparently inevitable, but the point is not worth stressing. What ought to be stressed, however, is that vv. 630 ff. *as they stand* do not fit either with the Macaria scene or with such a scene as might be supposed to fill a large lacuna at this part, but can be shown to follow quite naturally if we assume that the Macaria scene is an interpolation, which preserves (vv. 602-604) merely the conclusion of the previous episode.

Let us examine the juncture in detail. On the one side, it is hardly appropriate for Iolaus to be down in despair when victory has just been signed and sealed for his cause. Furthermore, he now knows that battle is imminent, and one who in the next scene is inspired with such prodigious ardour is hardly likely to sit down now and cover his head. But if he has just learned that there is to be no battle, that his allies have deserted him, that he has no hope left, his action becomes quite intelligible. On the other side of the juncture a closer study will not be unfruitful. According to our hypothesis Iolaus is roused from his weakness and despair by the glad tidings that Hyllus has unexpectedly found assistance somewhere and is at hand with a large army. "Friend," he asks the Messenger, "are you come to save us from destruction (βλάβης, 640)?" The question is significant. Firstly, if Macaria had died for them, they were already saved from destruction. Secondly, if the prostration of Iolaus had been from grief for Macaria, the news of reinforcements would avail nothing to slake that grief. Yet we find the old man breaking into transports of joy and summoning Alcmena out of the temple to hear the good news. We are told that she has been wasting away with sorrow. But for whom? For the absent Hyllus and his brothers, not for Macaria. An-

other significant fact is that Alcmena, hearing his shout, assumes that it is another (αῖ) Argive herald. Probably because such a herald was the occasion of the last outcry she had heard (73). In that case what had *Macaria* heard to bring her out of the temple? If we assume, however, that the preceding scene had heard the death-knell of their hopes, who would be more likely to appear now than an Argive herald to hale the prisoners off to their doom? Thus Alcmena's error (which otherwise seems pretty pointless) becomes perfectly natural and rather striking. To return to Iolaus. He now realises that his affairs have taken on a wholly different complexion. Different circumstances call forth different omens. While the Athenians were so badly outnumbered¹⁹ by the enemy, horrible things like human sacrifices may have been necessary, but now with the arrival of Hyllus and his army the prospects of a successful resistance to Argos are distinctly brighter. Hence the next remark of Iolaus: "I suppose the Athenian leaders have been informed of this (670)." The messenger not merely assures him of this, but also adds that Hyllus and his men have taken their place on the left wing. The old man is thunderstruck. Events are happening too quickly for him. Not so long ago his world had collapsed about his ears, and now, now (ἤδη) he finds himself on the eve of a successful battle. The soothsayers (if they had been consulted again) had excogitated happier omens, like good and careful Athenians.

Thus we see that vv. 630 ff. do not justify the assumption that they have been revised to fit the *Macaria* scene after an intervening scene had been omitted. They do *not* fit the *Macaria* scene. They do fit the scene preceding the *Macaria* scene.

Is there any evidence external to the play which would prove that it *originally* contained the scene we wish to expunge? All the references are very late, and consequently, even if they actually referred by name and title to the *Heracidae* of Euri-

¹⁹ That they are outnumbered is shown (a) by v. 689, where Iolaus justifies his decision to fight on the ground that even with the assistance of Iolaus and his men they are about to fight (μαχούμεθ' Dobree) enemies who are no fewer, i. e. *per litotem*, much more numerous than they: such an interpretation as Pflugk accepts from Elmsley seems fantastic in the light of the Servant's comment at v. 690; (b) by the description of the battle, especially vv. 334-342.

pides, that would not preclude the possibility that the reference is to the play as *interpolated*.²⁰ As a matter of fact, there seems to be only one explicit reference. A scholiast at v. 1157 of the *Knights* mentions the story of Macaria, though not quite as we have it in our play, and adds $\omega\varsigma \epsilon\nu \text{ 'Ηρακλείδαις Εὐριπίδου}$. Of which Wilamowitz:²¹ "*hic non solum licenter omnia permixta sunt, sed fabulae . . . ita immutatae ut ab Euripide plane abhorreat testis excitatur ipse Euripides, . . . Itaque tantum abest ut hoc scholion inter testimonia tragoediae Euripideae referendum sit, ut nequissima nequam interpolationis interpolatio prorsus de medio tollenda sit.*" Plutarch mentions Macaria²² the daughter of Heracles as one who had died for her brothers, and since we do know²³ that he was acquainted with our play it is possible that Macaria appeared in his copy. But Plutarch wrote about five hundred years after Euripides was in his grave. We have mentioned the scholia dealing with the origin of the proverb $\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda' \epsilon\iota\varsigma \mu\epsilon\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\nu$. We might also mention a scholion at v. 365 of the *Plutus*, where we are told of a painting by one Apollodorus in which "Iolans, Alcmena, and a daughter of Heracles" are represented supplicating the Athenians. But who this Apollodorus was nobody can state for sure, and in any case if the description of the painting is accurate the latter was clearly *not* the reproduction of any scene in our drama. Neither can the Argument prefixed to our tragedy be admitted as evidence in this connection. Obviously it must be posterior to the version of which it is the précis, however and whenever that version came into being. On the other side there is the fact, mentioned above, that the sacrifice of Macaria does not seem to have had any place in the original legends. Also, since the assistance extended by Athens to the children of Heracles was almost a commonplace of the Greek orators,²⁴ who nevertheless never refer to the self-sacrifice of the daughter, we may see therein an

²⁰ Cf. Aeschyl., *Septem c. Thebas*, where we have scholia on verses which are almost certainly interpolations, e. g., vv. 534-6 (ed. Verrall), vv. 1005 et seq. (ed. Mazon).

²¹ *Index Schol.*, *supra cit.*, p. vi.

²² *Pelopid. Vit.*, 21.

²³ *Stoicos absurdiora poetis dicere*, 2.

²⁴ Lysias, *Epitaph.*, 11; Demosth., *Epitaph.*, 8, *De Corona*, 186; Isocrat., *Panegy.*, 56, *Panathen.*, 124; Aristid., I, p. 175 (Dindorf).

argument *ex silentio* in favour of the view that even in that age the sacrifice had not yet been invented. In fine, there does not seem to be any conclusive evidence that Euripides introduced the episode of Macaria in his *Heracidae*. When and by whom the figure of Macaria was created, the lack of evidence does not permit us even to guess. The theme was doubtless handled by many dramatists both before and after Euripides. We know that Aeschylus composed a tragedy with the same title and Sophocles wrote an *Iolaus*, apparently on the lines of our tragedy. Beyond these bare facts nothing is certain. Our contention is merely that the episode of Macaria has no place in our tragedy, but was inserted later, perhaps sometime before the work of the Alexandrian critics. We do not require here to establish a reason for the interpolation, though we may suggest at least two possible causes. Firstly, such scenes of self-sacrifice must have been very popular with Athenian audiences; Euripides evidently thought so, if his fondness for the topic is any guide. Secondly, Demophon's consultation with the soothsayers and their replies afforded an obvious peg on which to hang such a scene.

Here another question raises an importunate head. Why should Euripides have introduced the incident of the oracles if he did not intend to satisfy their inhuman demands? The parallel play, the *Supplices*, suggests an answer: to introduce suspense and dramatic tension. Once the Athenians had pledged their support to a cause, that cause could not fail to triumph in an Athenian theatre. So in the *Supplices* the suspense is introduced by the refusal of Theseus to take up the cause of Adrastus. Everything seems to be lost, until he is won over by Aethra.²⁵ In the *Heracidae* any such device was impossible. Demophon is bound by ties of piety, kinship, and honour to lend all his assistance (237-247). But he was a constitutional ruler, and if the people did not wish to succour the suppliants he had to abide by their decision. With this stone Euripides killed three birds: he secured the necessary element of suspense, he paid tribute to the *λευτερία* of Athens, and he landed a shrewd blow on the whole tribe of oraclemongers who issue such inhuman advices. Notice too that to have proceeded with the sacrifice would have weakened the effect of the whole drama. Then

²⁵ Eur., *Supplic.*, vv. 286 ff.

the children of Heracles would have been rescued almost entirely by their own efforts: the self-sacrifice of Macaria, the associates of Hyllus, the uncanny feats of arms of Iolaus, and the fury of Alcmena. The 'Spartans' would have been their own deliverers. But in that case where would have been the name and fame of Athens?

This consideration seems to clinch the case against the authenticity of the Macaria scene. It is out of line with the general direction of the drama. It is worse than unnecessary; it is a positive nuisance. It obscures the issue and blunts the point of the play. What is that point? In other words, who is the 'hero' of the drama? It is not Iolaus. That scene in which he leaves for the battlefield is enough to damn the most heroic hero who ever strutted the boards of tragedy. Servant and Chorus both assure him that he can be of no assistance to his friends and will only hurt himself. Alcmena bluntly tells him he is out of his mind. Actually his armour (which he borrows from the temple walls) is too heavy for him to wear; the servant has to carry it for him, and also support the tottering warrior and direct his steps. Later, in the description of the battle, Euripides very pointedly indicates that, whereas the Messenger actually witnessed the rest of the battle, his tale of the miraculous rejuvenation of Iolaus is the merest hearsay. We are told, to be sure, that Iolaus asked Hyllus to let him come up on to his chariot. Remembering the condition of the doughty grey-beard when we saw him leave the stage, trailing clouds of glory and his superannuated limbs, we can easily imagine a very human motive behind his request for a lift. It may be objected that the heroes of Euripides are often very unheroic and a very imperfect character may still play the leading rôle in, and personally constitute the dramatic unity of, a Euripidean tragedy. Orestes would be a case in point. In the present play, however, the real reason why Iolaus cannot be regarded as the central character is not simply that he is decrepit, but that he is ludicrous. And he is made ludicrous almost at the expense of dramatic consistency. Until the stage is set for the decisive encounter, Iolaus though never a strong character has been dignified, courageous, in many respects commanding our unqualified admiration. Why does the dramatist suddenly betray him to the scoffers? Probably because Euripides wished Athens to

have all the kudos of the victory. Tradition allowed Iolaus at least to share the laurels. So much Euripides had to concede, but he concedes it *more suo*: yes, Iolaus may have been at the battle, but (all the fictions of heated imaginations notwithstanding) what sort of part must he have played therein, who could not walk in his armour, much less fight? Neither must we look to the character of Alcmena to supply light and leading to the play. Apart from one brief appearance, she does not begin to affect the action till v. 941. Here a word of warning seems necessary. Altogether too much has been made of certain resemblances between her rôle and that of Hecuba in the play of that name.²⁶ The differences are no less important. The *Hecuba* is a study of abnormal psychology. The whole play centres round the tragic figure of "the mobled Queen." Everything that happens derives its significance from its effect on the central figure. She holds the stage throughout the tragedy. More important still, she holds our sympathies throughout; even in her fiendish revenge on Polyestor God knows and we all know that she has had ample provocation. Her action is wrong, but it is intelligible in the sense that we are expecting it. Alcmena on the other hand has a very small part to play in the *Heraclidæ*, and it is an unsympathetic part. At the end our sympathies are all with Eurystheus. The motive of Alcmena seems to be almost spite; revenge is too good a name for it. If she murders her prisoner because she holds him responsible for the death of Macaria, why does she not cast that in his teeth? Hecuba, to be sure, does not mention the murder of her son to his murderer, but that is because her plan requires her to dissimulate; the spectators already know what has driven the queen to such an act. But Alcmena, against the advice of everybody, commits murder in cold blood and seeks to justify her action by a piece of unredeemed casuistry. The truth is that Athens is the hero of the piece.²⁷ It is another ἐγκώμιον Ἀθηνῶν, and for parallel we must look to the *Supplices* of the same author. In some respects indeed the patriotism is laid on with a thicker brush than in any other play of Euripides. Athens alone is the

²⁶ Cf. Wilamowitz. Also Howald: *Die Griechische Tragödie*, pp. 148-149. The presence of the Macaria scene is chiefly responsible for this conception of our play.

²⁷ Steiger: *Euripides, seine Dichtung und seine Persönlichkeit*, p. 95.

champion of the oppressed. She is, *par excellence*, the Free City. The note is struck for the first time at v. 62. "Free is the land in which we stand." It is re-echoed throughout the course of the play (198, 244, 287, 423, 957, etc.). Iolaus, Demophon, even Alcmena, all sound it in turn. Ἐλευθερία. It is promised, as the greatest conceivable reward, to the messenger who brings the news of victory, and at the end of his narrative he does not fail to remind Alcmena of the prize she has promised him. Athens, conscious of her mission and high calling, is certain too of her glorious future. She is the Land of Hope and Glory. Athenians never shall be slaves²⁸ (352). She loves Peace as much as any other people, but if she has to fight, woe to her enemies. One is reminded of a modern version of the same strain: "We don't want to fight, but if we do, we've got the guns, we've got the men, we've got the money too."

This point is of paramount importance, because not until we know the *Leitmotif* of the drama can we argue with any assurance for (and from) its general economy and design.

Now to summarise the plot of the piece in the light of our hypothesis. Iolaus with the younger sons of Heracles has sought sanctuary on the steps of the altar. Alcmena and her granddaughters are within the temple, while Hyllus and the older sons are away somewhere making a last desperate attempt to find allies or another refuge, should Athens fail them. A herald of Argos, called Copreus in the list of *Dramatis personae*, arrives and is about to hale off his helpless prisoners despite the protests of the Chorus of old men of Marathon, when Demophon enters with his entourage and after hearing both sides of the question decides to succour the suppliants and dismisses the truculent herald, despising his threats. Iolaus reminds the children of the eternal obligation under which they now stand towards Athens. The Chorus sing a patriotic ode. The stage is set for a successful battle and the triumph of justice and mercy. Suddenly Demophon returns with a cloud on his brow and the sad tale of the oracles on his lips. The fight is off. The oracles demand the sacrifice of a highborn maiden. Demophon

²⁸ νικωμένη γὰρ Πάλλας οὐκ ἀνέξεται. Wilamowitz objects to this passage on the score of μεγαληγορία (as well as on other grounds), but the language of wartime patriotism tends to bombast.

will not give up any daughter of his or order any of the citizens to do so. And surely, he adds, nobody would be so wrongheaded as to consent willingly to such a sacrifice. Iolaus must find some other way . . . and there is no way. So, as Demophon departs, the old man virtually collapses on the altar steps, shrouds his head in his cloak, and resigns himself to his fate. Suddenly his luck turns. The servant of Hyllus arrives with the almost incredible tidings of rescue and Alcmena is summoned forth from the temple. We have already analysed the ensuing scene and have sought to show its intimate organic connection with what has gone before. Let us now try to answer a further question which has been raised by the critics. Why is Alcmena brought on here? We have seen that her conversation with Iolaus here is not the meaningless stupid thing that it has generally been held to be. There is still more to be said. Euripides is about to embark on rationalistic criticism of the miraculous rejuvenation of Iolaus. His method is the method of the *Alcestis*, a *reductio ad absurdum*. The scene in which Iolaus departs for the field of glory is almost farce, and here Alcmena has a part to play. Firstly, she is used to accentuate the decrepitude of Iolaus. She imagines that he has appealed to *her*, a grandmother, for assistance against the emissary of Eurystheus. In the second place only she may speak frankly to the bellicose old gentleman. The Chorus are strangers. The Messenger is a servant. Only she can tell him that he is clean out of his wits. Off he is conveyed to battle, and after another choral ode a Messenger enters with word of victory and sorrows past. In the next scene the Servant of Hyllus returns and delivers the captive Eurystheus into the hands of Alcmena, and after considerable crimination and recrimination, during which our sympathies naturally switch to Eurystheus, she announces her murderous plan against the helpless prisoner. Even the Servant advises her against it. The Chorus too urges her to respect the wishes of Athens and spare him. She heeds them not and has him led within to be slaughtered. The Chorus seems to connive at the crime, and so the play stops.

What are we to make of such a conclusion? Its abruptness has already caused the critics considerable discomfort. Schlegel remarks: ²⁹ "The *Heraclidæ* is a very paltry play; the end is

²⁹ *Über dramat. Kunst*, I, p. 260.

particularly weak." It has been proposed ³⁰ to regard the last utterance as the opinion of half the Chorus, which in the original play would have been answered by the other half, and so the question of the justice of the murder would have been left open. Also it was originally thought that the scenes which are now alleged to have departed this world at v. 629 really had their being at the very end of the drama. Our task is not to go into the merits of these views, but rather to examine the contrary opinion which defends the integrity of the conclusion as it stands.

In the first place, it has been argued ³¹ that the prophesyings of the doomed Eurystheus are most appropriately placed at the very end of the piece. This argument looks to those other plays of the poet which end with a vista of the future. More particularly it rests on the analogy of the *Hecuba*, which closes with the prophetic utterance of Polymestor; and of the *Supplices*, where Adrastus is told what the duty of Argos will be if Athens is ever invaded. But analogies are kittle cattle. The close of the *Supplices* shows a certain resemblance to the scene in our play where Iolaus bids the children hold the friendship of Athens in perpetual remembrance, but nobody would suggest that our play could have stopped there. Why not? Simply because the action had not run its course. The scene *might* have been very appropriate as a concluding scene, but as a matter of fact it is not the concluding scene. So the *Bacchae* might have ended with the death of Pentheus, and the women left howling in the wilderness, but it does not. Or we might argue that *Julius Caesar* might have ended with the death of Caesar because *Macbeth* ended with the death of Macbeth. And, to be sure, it might have so ended, had Shakespeare so planned it. In playwriting the whole is greater than the parts, and our opinions of the relationship of the parts to each other or to the whole must rest on our conception of the whole. For example, we have suggested above that the *Heracleidae* and the *Hecuba*, despite superficial resemblances, are very dissimilar in dramatic conception. This is not to say that no comparisons may be drawn between them, but it must always be remembered that similar scenes

³⁰ Murray, *Euripidis fabulae* (ed. Oron.), III, adnot. crit. ad *Heraclid.*, 1055.

³¹ By Wilamowitz.

within the two plays may play very dissimilar parts in the whole and may quite appropriately occur at different stages of the development of the plot. The ultimate destination determines the intermediate steps. We have returned to the criterion, admitted above to be the only valid criterion, "the economy of the piece." How does the opinion which we are now contesting stand up to this criterion?

The integrity of the conclusion is rested on the ground that the drama has run its course. We are told³¹ that no person has anything more to do on the stage; Iolaus might re-enter, but after all he would have to appear as a young man and that would be rather intolerable. It will be seen at once that such an argument is based on a conception of the drama which we have found impossible to accept, namely, the view that the play centres round the character of Iolaus. The argument falls to the ground if we hold fast to the doctrine that we have before us an encomium of Athens. In that case, so far is the plot from its natural and logical culmination and conclusion that it seems to have stopped almost in the middle course. It is all loose ends. We have seen that Alcmena is a rather subordinate character in the drama. Nobody is really interested in her or her views. Yet now we are asked to believe that Euripides suddenly rescues her from her retirement and allows her to dominate the final scene. And with whom? With Eurystheus,³² another character in whom we have no real personal interest and who now appears for the first time. The brave opening of the play seems far, far away. There we had been introduced to one set of characters, but they have all disappeared never to return. Where now is Iolaus, where is Demophon, where is Athens? The whole moral issue of the battle has been forgotten. Euripides has changed his mind about his theme, or has grown tired of it, and has begun to write the preliminary draft of another *Hecuba*. It is passing strange. We are forced to the assumption that the end of the play is lost, that we are faced with a very considerable lacuna.

Let us look again at the end of the play as we have it, and our

³¹ There is no inconsistency in the treatment of Eurystheus in the play. Naturally Iolaus and company are very bitter against him, but as early as vv. 465-470, Demophon seems to reprimand the violence of their language. On the other hand cf. Steiger, *l. c.*, p. 96.

awakened suspicions will find some corroboration in the fact that the drama seems to stop with a sentiment of which Euripides could not approve. This is unlike his other practice. So far the *Heracleidae* has shown much the same pattern as its parallel the *Supplices*. Suddenly it ends with an act which is contrary to the ideals of Athens as Pericles and Euripides conceived them, an act of barbarity for which there has been no adequate cause, an act, moreover, carried out in flat disobedience to the express command of the Athenians. Euripides could not leave such an act uncondemned. Even in the *Hecuba* there is a sort of court of judgment on the blinding of Polymestor and the murder of his children. There is much more need of one here. The king of Argos had been guilty of no such crimes as had made the Thracian prince an object of general abomination. It had already been decided by the authorities that he was not to die; Athens does not murder her prisoners taken in war. (Nor does she so sophisticate truth as to argue that after all she is not concerned with the murder, since it was Alcmena who committed it. Such casuistry was a Spartan trick. We have seen Alcmena playing the old game and seeming to impose on the Chorus with it, but we wait the arrival of someone more representative of Athens to set the action in its true light.) Furthermore, Demophon clearly did not regard the enemy king as a monster of iniquity. Indeed he had already conceded at least the practical expediency of his persecution of the children of Heracles.³³ Self-preservation made such a course quite natural. *Salus populi suprema lex*. Yet Alcmena proposes to destroy her helpless victim in cold blood. The very servant promises her that she will incur much blame. And suddenly the play is over. It is a violation of the expectancies of the drama. Was it for this that Euripides, in the teeth of all tradition, rescued Eurystheus from the field of battle and delivered him into the hands of the mother of Heracles? Was it not rather to supply a contrasting background before which the clemency and humanity of Athens would stand in all its beauty? Here if anywhere in the play is the elusive lacuna and it is a large one.

We can only guess what filled the hole, but there are considerations to guide our guesswork. In particular, it seems

³³ See n. 32 *supra*.

legitimate to assume (a) that Alcmena does carry out her fell intention and Eurystheus is murdered (b) that the play ends with a speech by Demophon or an appearance of Athena, or both. In the first place, the various legends about the expedition of Eurystheus do not all concur on all points. For example, there was some uncertainty about the site of the battle, and Eurystheus met different deaths at the hands of different people,³⁴ but on one point there is complete agreement, namely, that he did die. If this is to be conceded, it is not difficult to imagine the general plan of its presentation in our play. The king would be led within to meet his fate, there would almost certainly be a choral ode, towards the end of which the cries of the victim would be heard, and then the ἐκκύκλημα would reveal the body and Alcmena exulting over it.

In the second place, the action has to be condemned if the tenour of the play is to be preserved. Spartan cruelty must be admonished by Athenian enlightenment. Athens must dominate the stage at the end, Athens the Free, the Hellas of Hellas. The ruling motives of the whole action have been Athenian ἐλευθερία, αἰδώς, εὐσέβεια, in short, ἀρετή. These must be restressed, underlined. Only Demophon, or Athena, can do that. We are thus not transgressing the limits of probability if we assume that Demophon, probably accompanied by Hyllus and Iolaus,³⁵ returns from the field of glory and passes the ultimate judgment on the scheme of things, 'points the moral and adorns the tale.' In that case there may have been a sort of ἀμλλα λόγων between him and Alcmena in which her action would be roundly condemned, and the play may have been rounded off by Athena from the machine.

The main thing is that the "economy of the piece" points to a large lacuna at the end. The drama has καὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ μέσον, but, as it stands, it has no τέλος. But we can see to what end the *Leitmotif* is leading. We can affirm with considerable probability the ideas that must be dominant at the end. The practice of Euripides helps us to imagine how these ideas may have

³⁴ Méridier, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

³⁵ Since Euripides clearly did not believe (or wish anybody else to believe) that Iolaus was really rejuvenated, there is no reason to suppose that he would hesitate to bring him back onto the stage as an old man, thus putting the whole question up to the faithful.

found expression. The details are not so very important, but to realise that we have lost the last scene of the play, to realise what the function of that scene must have been, that is the important thing. Only thus are we able properly to appreciate that part of the play which fortune has spared to us.

Wilamowitz has called the *Heracleidae* "the most insignificant play" of Euripides that we have. We can only say that any play, which is not only marred by an unlovely excrescence in the middle but has also lost the conclusion which the whole action subserved, is rather apt to seem insignificant, unless that sad fact is kept in mind. But if we hold steadfastly to the belief that we have before us not the play but the mutilated torso of the play, certain passages that are otherwise regarded as frigid and tasteless, if not actually expunged as spurious, may enter into their heritage. The course of our discussion has already touched on several such instances. Here we may content ourselves with only one or two more.

One such passage is at vv. 1050-1051, where Alcmena exclaims

κομίζετ' αὐτόν, δμῶες, εἴτα χρὴ κυσὶ
δοῦναι κτανόντας.

She is going to surrender the corpse of Eurystheus to the fury of the dogs. But her plan, outlined at vv. 1020-1025, required that Eurystheus be afforded burial. Both Musgrave and Elmsley in their editions ~~animadverted~~ on this apparent contradiction, and more recently³⁸ we have heard suggestions that *κυσὶ* must be an error, that the true reading should be something like *χθονὶ* or *πυρὶ*. But if Euripides is paving the way for a final scene in which such animal ferocity is to be outlawed, the exaggeration of that ferocity is eminently in order. There is no need to tamper with the text. Only if this is the end of the play, only if this is the last word of Euripides on the drama, does the need arise.

Verses 630 ff. are another much maligned passage. The presence of Alcmena in this scene has proved very distasteful to many critics. In the course of our argument we have already tried to show that Euripides has employed her as the instrument of certain effects which it would have been difficult by any other

³⁸ Méridier, *op. cit.*, p. 235, n.

means to produce. Something more calls to be added. Those who ask why she is brought out at this juncture should notice that Euripides himself, by the mouth of Iolaus, has anticipated and answered their question. Alcmena has been worrying herself to death over the absent Hyllus and his brothers, fearing they would never return. What is more natural, therefore, than that Iolaus should desire to put an end to her anxiety? And he tells us (vv. 644-645) that that is why he summoned her. Moreover it is to be remembered that Iolaus is very soon to quit the stage, thus creating a problem of stagecraft for Euripides. Are the children to be left alone on the steps of the altar. Also, who is to receive the news of victory when the Messenger arrives? It has to be Alcmena. Her presence on the stage forms the link between the first part of the action and the second. Now that is just the function of subsidiary characters in drama: to add variety and verisimilitude, to facilitate transitions, to be the occasion (not the cause) of action. Such a subsidiary is Alcmena, and as such Euripides employs her with considerable skill and ingenuity. But if we regard her as a tragic figure of primary importance, as one for whom and in whom the action fulfils itself, then we must condemn Euripides for a botcher and a bungler.

To add a third example, we must turn to those much discussed verses 818-822:

Ἵλλος μὲν οὖν ἀπώχεται ἑς τάξιν πάλιν·
 μάντις δ' ἐπειδὴ μονομάχου δι' ἀσπίδος
 διαλλαγὰς ἔγνωσαν οὐ τελονμένας,
 ἔσφαζον, οὐκ ἔμελλον, ἀλλ' ἀφίεσαν
 λαμῶν βροτείων εὐθὺς οὐρίον φόνον.

As the text stands, we have a reference to a human sacrifice, presumably that of Macaria. According to our view of the Macaria scene, we may here accept the text by assuming that these lines were inserted by the same hand that composed the scene of the sacrifice, and that view might explain the shocking inelegance of the reference. All that heroism rewarded by four obscure verses! And notice the plural *λαμῶν*; she is slaughtered like one of a herd of sheep or goats. Unable to stomach such ingratitude, Paley³⁷ has proposed to read *βοτείων*, 'of sheep,'

³⁷ *Heraclid.*, note to v. 822. No great weight attaches to the fact

instead of *βροτείων*. Wilamowitz, on the other hand, frowning on such interference with the text, would retain *βροτείων* and regard vv. 819-822 as interpolated by the hand that removed those central scenes which his hypothesis demands. He objects to such a conjecture as *βοτείων* (he is dealing with Vonhoff's suggestion *βοείων*) on the ground that the mention of the sacrifice only has sense if the sacrifice is an extraordinary one. If it is merely the customary propitiation, preliminary to all battles, why mention it at all? He is tempted also to extend this objection to v. 673, where Iolaus, asking if the clash is really so imminent, is told:

καὶ δὴ παρῆκται σφάγια τάξεων πάρος.³⁸

Again we have this mysterious emphasis on a very ordinary occurrence. Certainly there is matter here for astonishment "if it has no special bearing."

But let us not go too fast. We must consider if the verses do not after all fit in with the play as it is before we reject them because they do not fit in with the play as we think it ought to be. Euripides is a subtle worker and has to be watched carefully. He is not the man lightly to state the obvious. Yet here we find him not once, but *twice* dwelling on a very ordinary incident, in itself quite devoid of any significance. It is highly remarkable. But that may be the very reason why he introduced it. Its significance may well be extrinsic. If the modern scholar finds his attention caught by it and feels compelled to worry out an explanation of it, even to the point of changing the text, it is not unlikely that the enlightened Athenians of the time would react similarly and ask themselves, Why are we being told of this apparently trivial detail? It is also possible that some of them might hit upon the answer. The mention of the sacrifice (held immediately before the battle was joined) *fixes the time of the battle*. The other mention *fixes the approximate time at which Iolaus set out for the battlefield*. If we stop to indulge in comparisons, the result might prove extremely odious to

that *βόρειος* does not seem to occur elsewhere. [It is listed in the latest edition of Liddell and Scott (ed. Jones), the reference being to Grenfell, Hunt, Hogarth: *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*, 107, 4.]

³⁸ Paley takes this to refer to the Argive army. See n. to v. 822. But why may it not refer to both sides?

Iolaus. From the Messenger's account we learn that Hyllus challenged Eurystheus to single combat but his gesture was ignored, immediately thereafter the priests performed the customary sacrifices and did so hurriedly, then the armies, after a brief word of exhortation from their leaders, came to grips in a tussle which was fierce but short, soon the Argives were in full flight, and then, mark it, then is the first mention of Iolaus, and it is a rather equivocal mention. What do we learn on the other hand from the account of the Servant? Since he seems to be unaware of the challenge of Hyllus, we may assume that he left the battlefield before that. On the other hand we learn that all the preparations for the sacrifices had been completed; the necessary paraphernalia had already been brought out in front of the ranks (673). Once Hyllus had returned to the ranks, little time would be wasted before the onset ensued. Meanwhile the Servant has to make his way back to the suppliants. By the time he has broken the good news to Iolaus he is already fearing that he will be too late for the fight. And little wonder; more valuable time has been lost by Alcmena's failure at first to recognise him, then follows the scene in which they all seek to dissuade the old man from his resolve, and off at last he goes, assisted by the servant who bemoans the snail's pace at which they are compelled to travel.³⁸ He must know by now that there is to be no fighting that day for him, nor for Iolaus. This might explain why Euripides introduces *another* servant to bring back the tale of victory; the first servant; and with him Iolaus, arrived very much *εἰς κάτοπιν ἐορτῆς*. And so is the *coup de grâce* administered to the myth of the miraculous rejuvenation of Iolaus. The youthfulness with which Euripides endows the old man is just a second childhood. He took no part in the battle, but, arriving when it was all over, was taken up into his chariot by Hyllus, who subsequently overtook and captured the fleeing Eurystheus. The whole miraculous story is fantastic fiction invented by minds disordered with the excitement of battle and accepted by minds scarcely less disordered. We do not need to go back two thousand years to realise that such a psychological phenomenon is by no means improbable. In this connection, also, notice vv. 344-345:

οὐκ ἂν λίποιμι βωμόν, εὐξόμεσθα δὴ
 ἰκέται μένοντες ἐνθάδ' εὖ πράξαι πόλιν. .

It is Iolaus speaking, when Demophon is about to fight his battle for him. He will stay at the altar and pray for the success of Athens. It is as if Euripides is hinting how he would have treated Iolaus if he had been free to follow the dictates of probability, if there had been no stupid (but sacrosanct) tradition to explode.

These examples are, of course, merely incidental to our main contention, which does not depend on them, but may be conceded to derive additional support from them. Let us conclude by affirming that, properly regarded, the *Heracleidae*, though sorely mutilated and misunderstood, is well worthy of Euripides, both in conception and in execution. It would be easy also to pick out verses and phrases which need fear no comparison with the rest of our dramatist's work. What we have left of the play, after we have separated the chaff from the grain, is sufficient to show that it is a fine example of that strange blend of passionate idealism and scarifying rationalism which makes Euripides of all dramatists the most interesting to read and perhaps the most difficult to understand.

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NOTE ON CICERO *ad Att.* 12, 46, 1.

In *A. J. P.* LV (1934), 77 Professor Frank makes the happy suggestion that the *ocīus* of the manuscripts represents a Greek verbal in *-éōs*. I believe that *oīotéōs* would be even better than *ōotéōs*, which he proposes. Paleographically it is as plausible, and it gives exactly the required sense. Note Eur. *Hel.* 268 *βὰρὸν μὲν, οἰοτέον δ' ἕμους* and other references in the new Liddell and Scott. On the other hand *ōotéōs* would mean, not 'must be repressed', but 'must be pushed', 'must be kept up.' Even if we should suppose it to be equivalent to *ἀπωotéōs*, it would be strange psychologically. Cicero does not want to brush aside or repress his grief for Tullia so as to forget it and her entirely. He must cherish his grief for her along with her memory; the only thing to be done is to bear it.

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DOMITIAN'S INTENDED EDICT ON SACRIFICE OF OXEN.

Suetonius (*Dom.*, 9) is the only ancient writer who relates that Domitian once intended to issue an edict forbidding the sacrifice of oxen. He writes: "Inter initia usque adeo ab omni caede abhorrebat, ut absente adhuc patre recordatus Vergili versum:

‘Impia quam caesis gens est epulata iuencis’

edicere destinavit, ne boves immolarentur." Commentators accept Suetonius' interpretation of the intended edict as evidence of a sentimental affection for animals on the part of Domitian in his youth.¹

This passage, however, is open to a different interpretation. The time when Domitian thought of issuing the edict is fixed by the phrase *absente adhuc patre*: it must have been sometime between the close of the civil wars in 69 and the return of Vespasian to Rome from Alexandria about October of 70.² The eighteen months of civil war had been terribly destructive for Italy, where "the march of the rival armies from the north to Rome had cut a red swathe through the fields which time and peace alone in due course could hide."³ There was justification for the statement of Civilis and Classicus that "the city and

¹ Cf., for example, Mooney's edition of the VII and VIII books of Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*, 1930, p. 550; Janssen, *C. Suetonii Tranquilli Vita Domitiani*, 1919, p. 45; Weinreich, *Studien zu Martial*, 1928, pp. 105-106: "Etwas sehr Eigentümliches berichtet Sueton über Domitians Verhalten zu Tieren. Ich meine nicht die Anekdote, dass er Mücken mit dem Griffel aufzuspiessen pflegte . . . sondern dass er Stieropfer als inhuman verbieten wollte. Und dabei berief er sich gerade auf einen Virgilvers, der für das goldene Zeitalter Altitaliens als Charakteristikum ausspricht, dass noch keine *impia gens* Rinder schlachtete. Wirken bei dieser Anwendung in seiner ersten Regierungszeit neupythagorische Einflüsse und romantische Weltverbesserungsideen (Domitian als Bringer einer neuen *aurea aetas*) ineinander? Hatte er, den die *bruta animalia* verehrten, öfters ein gewisses Mitgefühl für sie gehabt?"

² Cf. Weynand, "*Flavius* (206)," in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, VI (1909), col. 2648.

³ Henderson, *Five Roman Emperors*, 1927, p. 1.

Italy had been exhausted by internal warfare.”⁴ The livestock of Italy must have paid toll to the foraging of the troops. We know from the famous edict of Domitian regarding viticulture that he had an interest in economic conditions.⁵ It is, therefore, quite possible that he considered issuing an edict forbidding the sacrifice of oxen, not because of religion or sentiment, but in order to protect the depleted herds of Italy until they would have time to recover from the losses of the civil wars. There may, too, have been special danger to the oxen at this moment on account of vows made during the troubled period which had just come to an end, since those who had safely escaped the perils of the wars would desire to pay their vows, which in many cases may have called for the sacrifice of oxen.

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⁴ Tacitus, *Hist.*, IV. 75.

⁵ Cf. Frank, *An Economic History of Rome*, 2nd edition, 1927, p. 427 and Rostovzev, *Storia Economica e Sociale dell' Impero Romano*, 1933, p. 23, n. 17 and pp. 237-238.

OLD HIGH GERMAN SCRATCHED GLOSSES.

While searching through manuscripts in numerous Continental and English libraries for Old English glosses, I occasionally found unpublished Old High German glosses.¹ With the exception of a few, such that I came upon are scratched glosses.² The extensive search of manuscripts that was made in the preparing of the five volumes of *Die althochdeutschen Glossen* made it seem unlikely that many more Old High German glosses would ever come to light, yet since the appearance of the fifth volume in 1922 various publications have brought forth considerable new material.³ It is to this increasing sum of new glosses that this present contribution is made. As many of the scratched glosses here given are from a manuscript from which the inked glosses had been collected previously,⁴ without the mention of any of the scratched ones, it seems likely that other manuscripts which have been examined may yet contain unpublished glosses. Unless one were looking specifically for scratched glosses one might fail to notice them, especially if the supply of daylight was not at its best. But the careful scrutiny, in plenty of daylight, of manuscript leaves for words which may be scratched there without ink is at times rewarding.

¹ This work was made possible for me by a Research Fellowship with the American Council of Learned Societies.

² This method of glossing texts by scratching in words instead of writing them with ink I have discussed in *Old English Scratched Glosses in Cotton MS. Tiberius C. ii*, *AJPh.*, LIV. It is also spoken of by Napier, *Old English Glosses*, p. xxxiii, and Bischoff and Lehmann, *Nachträge zu den althochdeutschen Glossen*, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 52, 153 ff.

³ Recent publications of OHG. glosses: Naumann, *Glossen aus Admont*, *ZfdA.*, 64, pp. 77-79 (1927); Schröder, *Handschriftliche Funde von meinen Bibliotheksreisen*, *Nachrichten v. d. Ges. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Klasse, p. 95 (1927); *Späalthochdeutsche Bibelglossen*, *ZfdA.*, 68, pp. 66-68 (1931); Lehmann, *Fuldaer Studien*, *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. Klasse, p. 50 (1927); *Mitteilungen aus Handschriften*, ii, *MSBphKl.*, p. 35 f. (1930); Bischoff and Lehmann, *Nachträge zu den althochdeutschen Glossen*, *Beiträge*, 52, pp. 153 ff. (1928); Hartl, *Ein neues althochdeutsches Glossenfragment*, *Festschrift für Georg Leidinger*, pp. 95 ff. (1930); Pyritz, *Althochdeutsche Horaz-glossen*, *ZfdA.*, 68, pp. 215-16 (1931).

⁴ *Clm.* 6293. Cf. *Die althochdeutschen Glossen*, 5, 66.

Staatsbibliothek, München

Cl. 6293, 9th century,⁵ 158 folios, ff. 1-65 Gregorii Dialogi

Migne Patrol. Lat. 66 and 77

1v eminebat furi uuas ⁶	11r opem helfoo	213, 16
77, 162, 2	11v studiis lirnungon	66, 126, 8
2v ut opinor so uuaniū 163, 1	12v incole elilenti ¹³	128, 23
3r contingere pirinan 163, 40	15v conspirantes kihantre ¹⁴	136, 30
5v in tam ampla in s-		136, 33
preiteru ⁷	164, 12	usum sito
nuper nunahiu ⁸	164, 17	excederet arfori ¹⁵
subprimo piduingu 164, 19	17r inuitus kanotit	162, 43
7r lacessiunt kaarindent 180, 8	21r impetrant kahalonit	194, 4
excreuerat aruuos 180, 14	22r transfunderent	
reficiens ⁹ zuntenti 180, 19	kafastinotin ¹⁶	198, 5
uidendum kasiuni ¹⁰ 180, 21	in spera ignea in suū	198, 27
7v probat cauuaigta 180, 42	exigua luzzil	198, 32
8r crebro ofto 184, 2	24v ampliatur kiptūtīt	200, 11
9r ex obsessio uona	liquide uuazure	200, 28
pisessanemo ¹¹	25r acri pittro	202, 8
201, 36	sustentans stiurrente	202, 13
9v derogatione lastrungu		
204, 16		
10v putandam ¹² furpanne		
212, 28		

⁵ The dates which I give for the MSS. are those assigned to them in the catalogues of the respective libraries.

⁶ There are traces of an immediately following gloss. If the position of a gloss is not referred to in the foot-notes, it is found above its lemma.

⁷ There is an illegible gloss above the immediately following *congregatione*.

⁸ Read *nu nahun*. Cf. *nuier nu*, Die ahl. Gl., 1, 216, 30; *nuper nahun*, 4, 9, 3; *nuper nu nahun*, 1 28f, 29.

⁹ Ed. *reficiendis . . . laxpudibus*.

¹⁰ Under the Latin. The glossator has used a noun instead of following the gerund form of the Latin.

¹¹ In the writing *ss*, for *sz*, there may be attraction from the *sz* in the lemma.

¹² MS. *potandam*, but above *o* is scratched *u*.

¹³ In interpreting *eius loci incolae* the glossator may have thought of *incole* as natives of some land other than his own, i. e. strangers.

¹⁴ Illegible at the end. Read *kihantreihante*.

¹⁵ The unbroken *ō* in *arfo*, *brodar* 34r, *armoti* 38r, *dursochenti* 39r, *sochan* 60r, and the dative ending *u* in *izzu* 43r, *nidarunku* 48r, *sonu* 52r, *sniumidu* 54r, *paru* 57r point to a date hardly later than the beginning of the tenth century.

¹⁶ The glossator took the lemma as from *fundare* to make *fast*.

25v tendebatur	uwas kiuört	35v inquit	chuatun	309, 37
	202, 20		compendiosa	
27v satis	kenuoc		kalimflibharo	309, 45
28r frigauit	reip	36r calce	spore ²⁴	312, 9
	264, 32		adnisu	uullin
28v exenio ¹⁷	phrazumen		expectaculum ²⁵	312, 15
29r saltim	doh		uuntarsun	312, 19
31r euanuit	kileid	36v tendendo ²⁶		
	277, 21		kidinnanne ²⁷	312, 29
	respectus ursuni		depraedati herionte	312, 36
32r retorqueat	kiride		disponente kimarch ²⁸	
32v transferre	frampringan			312, 43
	297, 48	37r supplime ²⁹	furist	313, 22
34r rimis	hrodar ¹⁸		eminet opacuum	313, 26
34v caruisset	anuari		37v rarescunt	kadunnet
	305, 6		paenitus zesperi	313, 33
	onustam kahlad ¹⁹		38r aerumnam	armoti
35r ausum	katurst		uenit chuam	317, 25
	305, 25		perfrui pruhanti uuesan	
	iateri sakenti ²⁰			317, 28
	305, 27	38v diffidunt	missatruent	
cogebatur	uwas kipeit			320, 15
	305, 27	39r percontari	dursochenti	
exterius	uzzaro ²¹			320, 36
deliberasse	kaendraftot			
	uuarin ²²			
	309, 17			
conditione	kiskēfti ²³			
	309, 20			

¹⁷ Ed. *xenio*.

¹⁸ The glossator confused *rimis* with *remus*; cf. *rimis scruntussun*, Die ahd. Gl., 2, 257, 27; *remus ruoder*, 4, 92, 1.

¹⁹ Illegible at the end. Read *kahlidana*.

²⁰ The first letters *uu* of a following gloss, possibly *uuesan*, can be read but the gloss to the following *cogebatur* has been scratched over the rest of it and has obscured it.

²¹ A few illegible scratches follow.

²² As there is no connection between the lemma and gloss as they stand, I believe that the glossator took *deliberasse* as from *delibo*, and that *kaendraftot* is for *kaentrafftot*. Under *raffen* in Kluge's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (11th edition) the existence of an OHG. *raffon* is given as by chance unattested.

²³ Beneath the Latin.

²⁴ The gloss does not suit the lemma; perhaps there was confusion with *calcar* which in OHG. is rendered by *sporo*.

²⁵ Ed. *spectaculum*.

²⁶ In the MS. *tendendo* is corrected by a scratch to *tendendo*.

²⁷ Read *kidinsanne*.

²⁸ Illegible at the end; cf. *dispnant kimarchoen*, Die ahd. Gl., 1, 277, 31.

²⁹ Ed. *sublime*.

40r facerem tati	325, 45	45r summi opificis meistries	
condescensior ³⁰			344, 41
kizunft	325, 47	45v sculpta kakrapaniu	344, 42
40v incircumscriptum		limat fiblot	344, 44
unumpimeretan	323, 27	decubans hlinenti	345, 2
41v disponi pimarchoz	323, 24	incrementa ouuast	345, 6
42r inquires chuidis	323, 43	46r refoueret kasatoti	345, 30
ut opinor soch uuaniu		fraglantia prunst	345, 37
	332, 8	uiaticum uekanest	345, 39
obsistit uuiderstat	332, 9	46v exhiberentur uuarum	
questus es roehenti ³¹		karo ³²	345, 46
uuari	332, 11	elongata kilanetiu	345, 50
42v fassus sum ³²		replicabo piuendu	348, 4
sprehanti ³³	332, 22	47r coeuas ebanaltiu	348, 33
laxato lichtemo	332, 27	47v leue loso	348, 39
43r calore izzu ³⁴	340, 29	reuerenter rufendo	349, 10
deformitatis unsupari		habitatura farantiu	349, 13
	340, 31	48r dilationis kilengida ³⁵	
uerita est scamenti			357, 2
uuas, rehtiu ³⁵	340, 32	damno nidarunku	357, 3
foedaretur uiari		perfruuntur	
kazokan ³⁶	340, 33	sinzpruhanti ⁴⁰	357, 25
44r asciuit ³⁷ kiunista	341, 11	geminata ⁴¹ kazuiualtot	
permittantur lopit	341, 24		357, 27
ambigo zuinafon	341, 28		

³⁰ MS. *con discensione*. Below and close to the second part is scratched *con* and after this the gloss.

³¹ The first letter of the gloss might be read as *s*.

³² Ed. *praefatus scm*.

³³ Following this is a faint trace of a gloss, possibly *uuas*.

³⁴ Read *hizzu*.

³⁵ Over the first gloss is scratched the second one, seemingly an interpretation of *uerita* as *uera*.

³⁶ The glossator has misunderstood the lemma, possibly taking it as from *foederare*.

³⁷ Ed. *accivit*.

³⁸ The second part of this gloss is not clear in the MS. and the reading is doubtful.

³⁹ The meaning *dilatatio* here distinguishes this gloss from *gilengida cognatio, affinitas* (Graff, *Sprachschatz*, 2, 225; Die ahd. Gl., 1, 272, 31). The present gloss corresponds in meaning with the lemma if it is taken as a nominal formation from *gilengan* to *protract*. Cf. *dilationis altisonis*, Die ahd. Gl., 2, 139, 29 and *dilatatio altinod*, 2, 259, 23.

⁴⁰ Reflecting the force of the Latin *per* is the prefix *sin* ever, entire as in *singrun* and *sinfliut*. The letter *z* between the *n* and *p* is perhaps a transition sound, similar to the *t* in forms such as *sintgrune* and *sintfluote* (Graff, *Sprachschatz*, 4, 299 and 3, 754).

⁴¹ Ed. *germinata*.

49v rigorem suhti ⁴²	368, 21	56v grabant suarent	396, 25
51r exalans uf	384, 31	stipulam strau	396, 30
probatio pichorunc	385, 1	adhibito zokihalatemo	
51v auctoritate katursti	385, 13		396, 35
sinceritate k . . lihho ⁴³		57r et luculenti enti	
	335, 19	leohtostin	393, 50
coxas deoh	385, 24	extant sint	397, 1
luctamen esset rinkanti ⁴⁴		refutauit uuidarstreit,	
	385, 26	uuidarota ⁵⁰	397, 9
52r examine sōnu	385, 36	praesulis heroston	397, 11
arbitris ⁴⁵ sonares	385, 36	feretro paru	397, 12
latet pimitan ist	385, 37	dictauerunt lertun	397, 16
uitare piuuisan	335, 46	sensi kahancta	397, 23
metallis kazimprun	338, 3	58r fallerentur pitrogan	400, 22
si ipu	338, 5	58v temere katurstliihho	400, 32
ex eo ⁴⁶ fon diu	338, 6	59r exute uzarfaraniū	401, 7
52v uictu lipleitu	388, 24	59v insanus unuuiser	401, 41
fabrica zinprur	388, 27	adserere kasaken	401, 43
non inmerito ni unkauu ⁴⁷		60r expetere sochan	417, 1
	388, 27	diocaesi farru	417, 4
53r ima nidaristun	388, 38	perageret durhteta	417, 14
obsideat pisizzen	388, 45	60v disparuit kaleid	417, 35
infecit archelit ⁴⁸	389, 9	61r sedule emazigo	420, 5
53v necaret chueliti	389, 18	excubare kaanpahten	420, 6
deridendo pihuhonto	389, 38		420, 6
54r inguine hlanchun	389, 40	stipendiis lipleiton	420, 11
protegerent scirmtin	389, 42	61v percipiat antfahe	420, 29
enixius langor	392, 1	62v arcana uuihiu	421, 46
caeleritate sniumidu	392, 2	mactabat plau	421, 46
55r aestimationis chuiti	393, 17	63r nauta ferio ⁵¹	424, 21
55v abstrahit ⁴⁹ ziuhit	393, 34	rupto farprohanemo	424, 23
ebibens trinken	393, 34	fune seile	424, 24
non euasit ni entcheang		63v uictime friskinka	424, 33
	393, 39		

⁴² While in the MS. the first letter of the gloss appears to be s, it is very likely that one should read f. Cf. *rigor fuhti*, Die ahd. Gl., 4, 92, 46 and *rigor fuhti*, 4, 158, 17.

⁴³ Perhaps *katriulihho*.

⁴⁴ After *rinkanti* comes *uu* and a trace of more; possibly *uuari*.

⁴⁵ Ed. *arbitri*.

⁴⁶ Ed. *per hoc*.

⁴⁷ Illegible at the end. Perhaps *unkauuerdot*.

⁴⁸ Scratched over and running into the letters of this gloss is a gloss which I could not read.

⁴⁹ Ed. *extrahit*.

⁵⁰ The first gloss is above the lemma, the second is beneath it.

⁵¹ Here and also in *herionte*, 26v, the letter *i* is made with a much longer stroke than elsewhere in these glosses.

restaurata kazahotiu		funditus karo	425, 1
	424, 34	64v ima nidarostun	428, 3
quo oblata ⁵² demo		65r eruemus ⁵⁴ arlaosemes	
kaoffarotiu	424, 34		428, 13
inopinata		incuria unrohhu	428, 15
unpiuanetlih	424, 56	65v placitum sona	428, 37
uersatus fargozzan	424, 51	fidenter paldliho	429, 7
carine mastes ⁵²	424, 43		

Cl. 6272, ninth century, 184 folios, Hieronymus in Matthaeum
Migne, Patrol. Lat. 26

35r prerogatiuum era ⁵⁵	52, 6	cautione scrip ⁶⁰	150, 35
50r gehenon hel- ⁵⁶	66, 29	tecnam suih	150, 39
87v os mund	106, 33	130r malo afol	155, 4
109v arbitratu est scn- ⁵⁷		nodo masor	155, 4
	130, 40	153v gemma proz	180, 37
rapina urtof. ⁵⁸	130, 40	intellegitis uuiztut	180, 38
126v rursum empta ⁵⁹ archuft		176v roseo ⁶¹ rot	208, 24
	150, 29	limbo tuhh- ⁶²	208, 24

Cl. 4554, 8/9th century, 164 folios, Passiones Sanctorum
Acta Sanctorum Jan. tom. 1 and 2

110r inpedistis ⁶³ camartut	111r piget trac ⁶⁴	586, 16
	1, 585, 29	154v gradum castegail 2, 717, 23

⁵² Ed. *oblato*.

⁵³ This is an incorrect interpretation of *carine*, which means *keel* and *skip*, not *mast*. Cf. *carine*, *naue*, *scalmo*, *po dame*, Die ahd. Gl., 2, 258, 59.

⁵⁴ Ed. *servemus*. In the MS. *eruemus* begins a line and the *s* is left attached at the end of the preceding line.

⁵⁵ With the exception of the inter-linear gloss *masor*, 130r, all glosses from this MS. are marginal.

⁵⁶ Read *hella*.

⁵⁷ Read *sona*.

⁵⁸ Read *urtoffi*. Cf. *terzeritas palzi. urtoffi*, Die ahd. Gl., 2, 332, 67.

⁵⁹ MS. *membra*, deleted by dots, and *empta* written in darker ink above.

⁶⁰ Cf. *cautio scripgezuc*, Die ahd. Gl., 3, 313, 25.

⁶¹ Ed. *rufo*.

⁶² Perhaps one should read *tuhhil*; cf. *peplo*, *pallio tuhil*, Die ahd. Gl. 2, 569, 22 and *strophium tuhil*, 2, 569, 39.

⁶³ Ed. *irretistis*.

⁶⁴ There is no trace of more in the MS. Read *tracot*.

Stiftsbibliothek, St. Gallen

MS. 217, 9th century, 342 pages, pp. 1-249 Gregorii Cura
Pastoralis

Migne, Patrol. Lat. 77

p. 18 dedecore	unscotin	19, 34	p. 130 fomentis	fascun	71, 38
p. 32 horum ⁶⁵	ire ⁶⁶	24, 50	p. 150 supersticione		
p. 63 torpescit	caslauet ⁶⁷	39, 8		ubarmezzi ⁶⁸	81, 50
p. 74 effrenata	unzapritlota ⁶⁸		p. 208 conglutinata		
		44, 5		pichliban ⁷⁰	108, 28
p. 116 suspitionibus	uuanun				
		64, 49			

Stadtbibliothek, St. Gallen

MS. 312, 10th century, 158 folios, Horati Opera
Keller and Holder, Horati Opera

90v sicarius mxchfrk⁷¹ 2, 34, 4

Universitätsbibliothek, Würzburg

Mp. th. f. 19, 8/9th century, 97 folios, Gregorii Dialogi
Migne, Patrol. Lat. 77

8v ferramentum id est	48v uangas	.i. scuuala	245, 23
bluothisan ⁷²	flebotomum		
			169, 28

Bodleian Library, Oxford

MS. Auct. T. 2. 22, 10th century, 128 folios, Prudentii
Carmina⁷³

Migne, Patrol. Lat. 59 and 60

26r maculis	mascun	59, 799, 15	48r callum	suil	389, 4
44r calyps	stahel	60, 288, 3	51v ludibria	spil	403, 8

⁶⁵ MS. *exorum*, with *h* written above.

⁶⁶ In left margin preceded by reference mark *ii*.

⁶⁷ In right margin.

⁶⁸ In left margin. Read *ungapritlota*.

⁶⁹ Cf. *supersticio ubermezzichi*, Die ahd. Gl., 2, 96, 53.

⁷⁰ In left margin.

⁷¹ In ink, in 10th century hand that has put in many Latin glosses.
Read *mucheri*.

⁷² Read *bluotisarn*. The two glosses from this MS. are in ink.

⁷³ From this MS. six glosses not given here are noted by Lehmann, *Mitteilungen aus Handschriften*, MSBphKL, p. 36 (1930). The glosses are in ink.

82v prurit iuchit	313, 4	98r trulla kella	471, 4
scalpit skebit	313, 5	119v fragitidas ⁷⁴	bregkun 525, 12
strumas kelca	313, 8		

Universitätsbibliothek, Basel

MS. F III 15 c, 8th century, 62 folios, Isidorus de Synonymis,
Sancti Basilii Admonitio ad Filium Spiritualem⁷⁵

Migne, Patrol. Lat. 83 and 103

12r relegio eua ⁷⁶	83, 845, 28 ⁷⁷	24r nec modicum ni galie ⁸⁴	
14r interime ⁷⁸ slah ⁷⁹	843, 39		862, 43
16v ultor rehhar ⁸⁰	852, 23	24v (nullim) defendas ni	
17v ad reconciliationem		scirmi ⁸⁵	863, 35
zigidingon ⁸¹	853, 22	27r nec quod ni desiu	867, 19
18v tribulatione arpeiti ⁸²		28v uite huius disses lipes	
	854, 38		103, 685, 39
21r celari bimidan ⁸³	855, 5	29r deuersus ⁸⁶ meslihhen	
21v si opa	855, 19		886, 15
te dih	855, 20	res ⁸⁶ dingun	886, 15
23r inpertienda ziteilen ⁸³		lucrum gięri	886, 20
	861, 19		

⁷⁴ Ed. *sphragitidas*.

⁷⁵ The glosses here given are from a copy which I made in the spring of 1932. On seeing the MS. again some months later, I found that an attempt had been made to trace in many of the scratched glosses with pencil. This has made it impossible to read again these glosses as originally scratched in the MS.

⁷⁶ After *eua* there is a trace of a gloss under *peruersa*. In the right margin opposite *nihil . . . cffendas* is the beginning of a gloss, *nigi*. Most of the glosses in this MS. occur either above or below their respective lemmata; I give the position of those only which occur elsewhere.

⁷⁷ Only lines of the text, not notes or chapter-headings, are included in the lines counted.

⁷⁸ Ed. *interimunt*.

⁷⁹ Right margin.

⁸⁰ Although the form of letters in scratched glosses is apt to be irregular, this gloss and others bear evidence of a pointed insular hand. In the left margin of this folio are several scratched glosses difficult to read. One seems to be Latin *nitiga* which occurs in the text nearby. Another I read with doubt as *reeci gipur*, glossing the neighboring (*iracundia*) *praeoccuparit*.

⁸¹ Top margin.

⁸² Left margin.

⁸³ Right margin.

⁸⁴ Following this is a gloss of which I could read the first letters *nis*, perhaps *ni sat* glossing *nec scis* which follows *modicum*.

⁸⁵ MS. *niscirmi*. In left margin.

⁸⁶ Ed. in *diversis rebus*.

29v et enti ⁸⁷	686, 26	erroribus irridon\	687, 21
abominare leidene	686, 27	uagaremur ueruallot	
mendacium lugia ⁸⁸	686, 28		687, 21
ab omni stultitia fon		exquesiuit sohita	687, 24
allemo ungi ⁸⁹	686, 31	31v detinetur giuestinot ⁹⁴	
obtinere bihaben	686, 35		688, 46
et . . eius entes gotes ⁹⁰		33v fraudes feihnes ⁹⁵	690, 49
	686, 38	34r facultates ehti	691, 37
inpensius ingiuegan ⁹¹		35v aliquod ⁹⁶ einig	693, 5
	686, 39	37r disciplinas ⁹⁷ lera	694, 22
meditaueris ⁹² lere	686, 39	et iusit ⁹⁸ enti gipot	
eris bist	686, 39		694, 36
et ex seruo en . .		38v fulgere scinen	695, 43
deotome ⁹³	686, 42	39r molestia ⁹⁹ suernessa	
30r obnoxios scadonti	687, 20		696, 18

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⁸⁷ There is a trace of following letters under *tumorem*.

⁸⁸ Read *lugina*.

⁸⁹ Perhaps *ungiuuizili*.

⁹⁰ Read *enti gotes*. *eius* refers to *dei*.

⁹¹ Cf. *de inpenso fona unkauuekcemo*, Die ahd. Gl., 2, 307, 5.

⁹² Ed. *meditatus eris*.

⁹³ The traces of two or three intervening letters are visible.

⁹⁴ In left margin.

⁹⁵ The ending *es* of the gloss may be by attraction from the ending of the lemma, or perhaps the glossator took *fraudes* as genitive.

⁹⁶ Ed. *quoddam*.

⁹⁷ Ed. *disciplinis*.

⁹⁸ Ed. *iussis*.

⁹⁹ Ed. *molestiam*.

EUMENIUS AND THE SCHOOLS OF AUTUN.

In these days of robust faith in the power of governments to cure all human ills the student of Roman history may well consider with especial care the efforts of Diocletian and his colleagues to repair the damage wrought in the Roman world by the disasters of the Military Anarchy. Of this policy, which proved the occasion for the carving of so many extant building inscriptions, our most interesting and informative literary reminder is the oration in which the Gallic rhetorician Eumenius describes the restoration of his native city of Augustodunum and especially of its famous Maenian schools. Before entering upon a discussion of this work one may well recount, for the sake of the possible reader to whom Eumenius may be unfamiliar ground, a bare outline of the facts with which the oration has to do. Augustodunum (the modern Autun) was after the reign of Augustus the political centre of the Haeduan people. Its schools had been famous as a rendezvous for the sons of Gallic aristocrats as early as the reign of Tiberius, when the students figured in the revolt of Sacrovir (Tacitus, *Annals* III, 43-46). Thereafter nothing is known of the state of the schools for considerably more than two centuries, although they seem to have flourished until about the middle of the third century A. D. In 269, however, city and schools alike suffered an overwhelming blow. Gaul was at that time a part of the domains of the usurper Tetricus; and Augustodunum declared for the legitimate emperor, Claudius Gothicus. As he was unable to render effective aid to his Gallic partisans, the city was besieged for seven months by the soldiers of Tetricus, and when captured was completely destroyed (*Incerti Gratianum Actio Constantino Aug.*, IV, 2, in *Panegyrr. Lat.*, ed. Baehrens). Although it probably revived to some extent during the three decades that followed, and a few students no doubt continued to frequent the schools, the effects of the catastrophe were still apparent when in 297 Constantius Chlorus undertook a comprehensive program of rehabilitation. Every effort was made to restore the prosperity of the city (*Pro Instruendis Scholis*, IV, in *Panegyrr. Lat.*); and when the head of the Maenian schools died, Constantius appointed Eumenius, his *magister memoriae*, to fill the

vacancy, and to undertake the restoration of the schools to their former condition. For this service Eumenius was to receive a stipend of 600,000 sesterces a year, which he generously dedicated to the reconstruction of the buildings. The oration (commonly called *Pro Instaurandis Scholis*) from which these facts are gleaned was delivered before the governor of the province of Lugdunensis Prima, at the time that the new head of the Maenian schools entered upon his position. But as so frequently happens with source-documents, this oration, in spite of the positive information which it furnishes and the provocative hints which it throws out, raises a good many questions which it does not satisfactorily answer. Among them is that of the relative degrees of control exercised over the schools of Autun by the municipal and imperial authorities; and closely allied to it is that of the source from which Eumenius' salary was derived. It is the purpose of this study to consider these questions, supplementing the information furnished by Eumenius himself from other sources whenever possible.

C. Jullian (*Histoire de la Gaule*, VIII, pp. 248-9) states what appears to be the commonly accepted opinion on these points in the following words: "The city paid the professors; but the emperor determined the amount of their stipends, settling it upon the city budget. . . . They themselves were appointed by the local senate; but the prince did not give up the right to control their choice or to force his own upon them, particularly when the head of the school or its outstanding professor was concerned" (translation). In other words, the city bore the whole burden of supporting the schools, and controlled the selection of the teaching personnel except when the emperor chose to interfere. That institutions of higher learning were in the main controlled and financed by local initiative there can be no doubt; but the present writer cannot agree to the statement that imperial interference in the selection of teachers was wholly arbitrary and unregulated by law. The case of Eumenius admits of a better explanation, and one more in keeping with the available evidence.

The ordinary teacher in a provincial school was a municipal employe, paid out of the city budget, and in some cases enjoying important privileges from the imperial government. This continued to be true up to and long after the reign of Diocletian,

as the law-codes clearly prove (*Codex Just.*, X, 53, 2: "Grammaticos seu oratores decreto ordinis probatos, si non se utiles studentibus praebeant, deinde ab eodem ordine reprobari posse incognitum non est"—Law of Gordian III., the inclusion of which in the Justinian Code proves that it was still in force in the sixth century. *Ibid.*, X, 53, 7: "quisquis docere vult, non repente nec temere presiliat ad hoc munus, sed iudicio ordinis probatus decretum curialium mereatur, optimorum conspirante consensu"—Law of Julian). But the imperial government very early took a hand in regulating the schools, both at Rome and in the provinces; and at the peril of repeating what is to be found in many hand-books and classical encyclopedias, one may well at this point recapitulate what is known about the development and working of its educational policy.

Vespasian seems to have begun the practice of paying Greek and Latin rhetoricians out of the imperial treasury—probably only in Rome and a few other places (Suetonius, *Vesp.*, 18, 1). Hadrian continued and expanded it, at the same time attempting to improve the service by pensioning off incompetents (Spartianus, *Had.*, 16, 3). Antoninus Pius went further, providing salaries for some at least of the teachers in the provincial schools, and attempting to coordinate imperial patronage with municipal educational efforts (Capitolinus, *Ant. Pius*, 11, 3). With this end in view he extended immunity from the personal and pecuniary liturgical services due to the government to a limited number of teachers of each class in each city. Three classes of municipalities were distinguished, and the numbers of teachers to whom immunity might be granted varied accordingly. The highest class was that of provincial metropolises; the second, assize towns; and the third, all others (Modestinus in *Digest*, XXVII, 1, 6). Augustodunum might be fairly presumed to have belonged to the second class. It is also fair to suppose that those so favored were hired and paid by the municipalities. The regulations established by Antoninus, perhaps with some few modifications, were in force in the reign of Diocletian, and would naturally govern a school like the *Maeniana* of Augustodunum. Let us see if we can apply what we know about them to the case of Eumenius.

The whole of the oration *Pro Instaurandis Scholis*, and in particular the letter of Constantius quoted in chapter 14, proves.

beyond a doubt that Eumenius had been appointed by his imperial master to hold the headship of the Maenian schools, and to teach rhetoric there. Was this a usurpation of authority, or was Constantius acting in accordance with existing law? The answer to this question can best be determined by a careful analysis of the available data regarding his salary. Both in chapter 11 and in the letter of Constantius we are told that he was to be paid "*ex huius rei publicae viribus.*" Allowing that in the later Empire the term *res publica* had come to mean pretty definitely a municipality, modern scholars have jumped to the conclusion that this sum was to be taken directly and finally from the municipal budget (Jullian, *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 249. Bloch, in Lavisser's *Histoire de la France*, I, part II, p. 392). It does not appear that this was true. In chapter 3 of the same oration the speaker says: "*Disseram . . . deinde qua ratione id possit sine sumptu publico ex largitione quidem principum maximorum — procedere.*" It would seem, then, that Eumenius considered his salary as coming ultimately from the imperial treasury, although paid immediately by the city. The most plausible reconciliation of the data, it would seem, would be to suppose that the city treasury paid the salary and deducted the sum from its quota of taxes. This would be the natural practice to follow in a time of primitive banking arrangements, when it was not possible to mail checks to imperial employees in distant cities, and when some or all of the amount in question may have been paid in kind.

Another point which must not be ignored is the probable amount of Eumenius' stipend. Here, unfortunately, we are not able to proceed with any absolute certainty, and must depend upon indirect evidence. What was the monetary value of 600,000 sesterces in Diocletian's day, and how did it compare with the ordinary salary of a municipal teacher? At the time of Augustus the sesterce had been reckoned as one-fourth of a denarius, twenty-five denarii as equivalent to an aureus, and forty-two aurei to a pound of gold. But this was not the rate prevailing in the reign of Diocletian. Chaos had reigned in the field of coinage for a long time before his accession; and his reign was spent in a series of fruitless experiments designed to restore it to order. Some very respectable modern authorities seem convinced that it is impossible to determine exactly what

sum the rhetorician's salary represents, and look upon it only as an indication that he belonged to the highest salaried group of the Roman civil service (Regling, in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. "Sesterz"). The Edict of Prices reckons 50,000 copper denarii to a pound of gold; and some have decided from this that the sesterce still represented the fourth part of a denarius (therefore one two-hundred-thousandth of a pound of gold), and that accordingly three hundred thousand sesterces would be but one and a half pounds of gold, and Eumenius' salary as head of the school of Augustodunum only three pounds. To accept this latter explanation we must be prepared to believe that the value of the salary of a *trecentarius* had between the reigns of Augustus and Diocletian declined in terms of gold from nearly seventy-two pounds to a pound and a half, or ninety-seven and eight-tenths percent, most of the devaluation taking place in the fifty years preceding Diocletian's accession, and that the imperial government had done nothing to offset the decline. This is inherently improbable, and becomes much more so if one remembers that so drastic a slash in official salaries would have made possible a marked reduction in the burden of taxation; whereas it is quite evident that during this very period it became much heavier than before. In view of this fact it appears necessary to abandon the theory that the sesterce in the reign of Diocletian represented a fourth of the copper denarius, and to strike out along a new line. What was the average level of pay in the imperial service during the later Empire, and how did it compare with that of the first two centuries of the Principate?

For the early fourth century there is practically no reliable evidence; but for the late fourth, fifth, and early sixth centuries we possess a considerable number of facts which, if we bear in mind the essentially conservative character of Roman and early Byzantine society, may be of help. In the reign of Domitian (81-96 A. D.) a legionary soldier received twelve aurei, or four-fifteenths of a pound of gold, a year. In 375 Valentinian I set the rate at thirty solidi, or five-twelfths of a pound (*Codex Theod.*, VII, 13, 7). The sum mentioned is the amount payable in commutation of military service: six solidi for the maintenance of a substitute, and thirty for his pay). In the later fifth century two *advocati fisci* in the East received sixty pounds of gold apiece annually (*Codex Just.*, II, 7, 25, a law of Justin

referring to conditions in the reign of Zeno, 474-491 A. D.). In the reign of Justinian the Praetorian Prefect of Africa received a hundred pounds of gold a year, and his advisers twenty pounds each (*Ibid.*, I, 27, 1). Dukes in the African provinces received about twenty-two pounds of gold apiece annually (*Ibid.*, I, 27, 2). In other words, the pay of imperial soldiers and officials seems to have been maintained at a very high standard in terms of gold under the later Empire; and we have no evidence of decline between. It would indeed be perilous to be dogmatic upon so confused a subject; but it seems much more likely that the sesterce represents the *antoninianus*, four of which at one time in the reign of Diocletian equalled a silver denarius, and one hundred of which were equivalent to an aureus tariffed at a sixtieth of a pound of gold (Jones, *Companion to Roman History*, p. 346). If this were so, Eumenius' salary as *magister memoriae* would have been fifty pounds of gold, which was doubled when he assumed control of the school of Augustodunum. This is, of course, a mere hypothesis; but it is certainly far more in harmony with existing data than the alternative just considered, which assumes that the salaries of the great officials of the imperial court were tied irrevocably to a depreciating currency. At any rate, the salary of an imperial secretary must have been not far from the figure mentioned; and it will serve as a basis of comparison with the stipends of ordinary rhetoricians for the purpose of attempting to determine by what authority Eumenius was paid.

When in 376 A. D. the imperial government set the salaries of rhetoricians and grammarians to be paid by metropolitan cities of the diocese of Gaul, the former were allowed twenty-four annonae and the latter twelve, which Jullian plausibly reckons at ninety-six and forty-eight solidi respectively, counting seventy-two solidi to a pound of gold (*Codex Theod.*, XIII, 3, 11. For Jullian's estimate of monetary value, cf. *Histoire de la Gaule*, VIII, p. 248, n. 6). This is a far cry from the salaries of imperial officials, if the data cited above are any basis of comparison. Indeed, it is hardly likely that Constantius, who was noted for his kindness to the provincials, and who was just at this time making every effort to revive the prosperity of Augustodunum, would have saddled upon the city government a burden so much larger than the ordinary pay of a professor.

The disparity is too great when all allowance is made for the favored position of Eumenius, to make it probable that he was paid by a mere municipal curia.

Aside from the question of salary, strong proof that the appointment was considered a legitimate exercise of imperial authority is found in the fact that the oration from which our information comes was delivered before the provincial governor, and that no mention is made of the curia of Augustodunum other than as the recipients of a lucky windfall. Had it been a case of usurpation of authority, the letter of Constantius would doubtless have been directed to the curia, and pitched in a very different key. All in all, we should, it seems, see in this case an example of the "state-aid" system of Antoninus Pius.

It is also in order to ask whether, allowing that Eumenius was hired and paid by the imperial government, the headship of the *Maeniana* was regularly filled in this manner. Apparently not; for Eumenius seems clearly to mark his own appointment as an exceptional case in the history of the school ("Cui enim umquam veterum principum tantæ fuit curæ ut doctrina atque eloquentiæ studia florerent quantæ his optimis et indulgentissimis dominis generis humani?—qui nobilissimam istam indolem Galliarum suarum interitû summi doctoris orbatam respicere dignati—" *Pro Inst. Sch.*, V, 2-3). The circumstances which led Constantius to this action were no doubt the desperate plight of the school and the danger that it would die out altogether; and it would be natural for the imperial government to reserve its bounty for such cases.

The case of Eumenius is of importance to us, not merely because it illustrates the opportunities for advancement open to men of education in the fourth century, but also because it throws light upon the relations of the imperial and local governments in the field of education. From it we learn something of the efforts of the emperors after the Military Anarchy to stimulate to new life the half-ruined school-system of the provinces; and it also furnishes us with a knowledge of its more kindly patronage to balance the stern edict of Constantine against those who mistreated teachers or withheld their pay (*Codex Theod.*, XIII, 3, 1), or the minimum salary scale of Gratian (*Ibid.*, XIII, 3, 1). The government of Diocletian was seeking to supplement local enterprise where local resources

were unequal to the task; and in so doing it seems to have followed the precedents set for it by earlier emperors. Augustodunum never again became a celebrated centre of learning; but imperial patronage and encouragement bore worthy fruit in other Gallic schools throughout the fourth century; and ultimately these played a large part in imparting Roman civilization to the Germanic tribes who were to transform Gaul into France.

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THE ORIGIN OF PRONOUNS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND PERSON.

There was in all probability a period in the primitive development of languages when there were no personal pronouns, and when persons speaking referred to themselves, to those whom they addressed, and to those about whom they spoke, by their proper names, just as a child says "Johnnie (= I) wants to go with Papa (= you) to see Grandma (= her)."

Pronouns of the third person were doubtless first developed, demonstrative words meaning 'this' or 'that' being very naturally used instead of repeating the name of the person spoken of.

The method of the development of pronouns of the first and second persons is not so self-evident, but they must also have been evolved from expressions normally denoting the third person, as it is hardly conceivable that primitive man would have invented directly expressions for the highly abstract ideas of 'I' and 'thou'. This primitive function of the third person in serving as a representative of the first and second is still alive in many languages, perhaps in all. For example a mother speaking to her little son might say "*Mother* won't hurt *him*. *She* loves *her little man*", where *mother* and *she* are semantically first person, and *him* and *her little man*, second person.

There are at least four kinds of third personal expressions from which pronouns of the first and second persons might be developed, viz.:

- 1) proper names of persons speaking or spoken to: (this case is conceivable, but so far as I know, there is no evidence for it).
- 2) common nouns meaning "person" or "human being" representing persons speaking or spoken to: pronouns of this type are German *man* and French *on*, which may refer to any one of the three persons.
- 3) common nouns meaning "servant" or the like for first person and "lord" or "master" for the second: the classic examples here are Malay *sahaya* 'I' and *tu* 'you'.¹

¹ Cf. W. E. Maxwell, *A Manual of the Malay Language*, 6th ed., London (1902), pp. 48-50.

- 4) demonstrative pronouns; either general demonstratives like French *ce* used for both first and second persons, or nearer demonstratives used for first person, and more remote demonstratives for the second.

The general method of development in all these cases was to give these third personal expressions referring to the speaker or the person addressed a first or second personal meaning by a wrong division of the semantic content of these expressions. That is to say, the meaning of first or second person, which belonged originally only to the situation of speaking or being spoken to, infects by contact the third personal expression with its first or second personal flavor, so that it finally comes to stand independently of the situation as a full-fledged expression for 'I', 'you', etc.

There are of course many pronouns of the first and second person that defy analysis; this fact is not surprising, when one considers the many centuries of development that lie behind any form of speech that we have today. There are many, however, whose forms indicate more or less certainly a connection with the roots of demonstrative pronouns, and it is this group which is the subject of the present discussion.

In the Semitic languages² the pronoun of the first person singular was originally *ana* or *anâku*, the expression for the possessive 'my' was the suffix *-ia*, and that for the objective 'me' was the suffix *-nî*. The nearer demonstrative in Babylonian-Assyrian is *annû*, the first element of which, *an* is probably identical with the first part *an* of both forms of the independent first personal pronoun; the suffix *-ia* appears with third personal force as the preformative (inflectional element) of the Semitic imperfect, e. g., Arabic, from a root *qatal* 'kill' makes an imperfect third person singular *ia-qtulu*. The accusative suffix *-nî* is probably connected with the element *-na* which with varying vocalization appears in many demonstratives; e. g., Biblical Aramaic *de-nâ*, Assyrian *an-nû*.

The pronoun of the first person plural apparently had the original form *nahna*, with demonstrative particle *na* both pre-

² Cf. C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss d. Vergleichenden Gram. d. Semitischen Sprachen*, Bd. I, Berlin (1908), pp. 297-313, 316-326, 559-576; J. Barth, *Die Pronominalbildung in d. Semitischen Sprachen*, Leipzig (1913).

fixed and affixed to a laryngeal element identical with Arabic unpointed *hah*. This laryngeal *h* apparently occurs also combined with the demonstrative particle *ka* in Ethiopic *kaḥā*, *kaḥaka*, *keḥka* 'thither', some of whose forms present the same pattern as the pronoun of the second person plural; for example Ethiopic *nehna* 'we' is identical in pattern with the last form *keḥka*, each having the element *h* flanked by the same forms of two different demonstrative elements, respectively *na* and *ka*.

The independent pronouns of the second person, singular and plural, contain the same initial element *an* as the independent pronouns of the first person singular, combined with another demonstrative particle whose characteristic element is *t*, e. g., Arabic *an-ta*, *an-ti* 'thou', *an-tum*, *an-tunna* 'ye' which *t* element is doubtless the same as the *ti* of Arabic *ti-lka* 'that'. The basis of the suffixes that denote the possessive 'thy', 'your' and the accusative 'thee', 'you' is a different demonstrative element *k*, appearing with varied vocalization, e. g., Arabic singular *-ka*, *-ki*, plural *kum*, *kunna*. This particle *k*, which we have just met as an element of Ethiopic *kaḥaka* 'thither', is a characteristic element of the remoter demonstrative pronoun in several Semitic languages, e. g., Biblical Aramaic *dēk*, *dāk* 'that', Arabic *ḏāka*, Ethiopic *zekū* 'that'.

The Indo-European personal pronouns of the first and second persons are based on the following particles,³ viz:

- 1 sg. Greek and Latin *eg*-
Indo-European *me*
- 1 pl. Indo-European *ye*, *ne*
- 2 sg. Indo-European *te*, *te-ye*
- 2 pl. Indo-European *iu*, *ye*

The most striking similarity between these forms and demonstrative forms is that between *te* of the 2 sg. and the common Indo-European demonstrative particle *to*. The particle 1 pl. *ne* perhaps occurs in Sanskrit *ena* 'that one, he'. The particle *ye* of both 1 and 2 pl. may perhaps be found in Sanskrit demonstrative adverbs *e-vam*, *i-va*. The 2 pl. *iu* is perhaps the same as the common relative pronoun *io*. The Graeco-Latin particle *eg* of 1 sg. is perhaps identical with Latin *ec* for *eg* in *ec-ce*

³ Cf. K. Brugmann, *Kurze Vergleichende Gram. d. Indogermanischen Sprachen*, Strassburg (1904), pp. 398-413, §§ 494-525.

'behold' and *ec-cum* (< **eg-hum*).⁴ The close connection between demonstrative particles and particles meaning 'behold, see', is not only *a priori* probable, but is clearly evident from Semitic, where Syriac *hâ* 'behold' is evidently identical with the wide-spread demonstrative particle *ha*,⁵ and where Arabic conjunction *anna* 'that', doubtless derived from a demonstrative like English conjunction *that*,⁶ is undoubtedly the same as Arabic *inna*, Hebrew *hinnê* 'behold'.

Resemblances between pronouns of first and second persons and demonstrative particles in other groups of languages⁷ are, e. g.:

Personal.	Demonstrative.
Tagalog 2 sg. <i>i-yo</i>	<i>yo-on</i>
General Philippine 1 and 2. <i>ta</i>	Pampanga <i>i-ta</i>
	Pangasinan <i>sa-ta-n</i>
Turkish <i>ben</i> 'I'	<i>bu</i> 'this'
<i>sen</i> 'thou'	<i>su</i> 'his'
Hungarian 2 p. <i>te, ti</i>	<i>itt</i> 'here' <i>ott</i> 'there'
Finnish 1 sg. <i>minu</i>	<i>tämä</i> 'this'
2 sg. <i>sinu</i>	<i>se</i> 'that'
Singhalese <i>mama</i> 'I'	<i>me</i> 'this'
Suaheli (E. Africa) 2 sg. <i>wewe</i>	<i>wa</i>
Oshindonga (S. W. Africa) 1 sg. <i>ndi</i>	<i>ndi</i> 'this'
Carrier Indian <i>nyen</i> 'thou'	<i>nyui, nyunen</i> 'that' (all with <i>ny</i> initial)
Wiraturai (Australian) 1 sg. <i>ngatu</i>	} <i>ngidi, ngina, ngugu, ngadi, ngana,</i> 2 sg. <i>ngindu</i> } <i>ngagu, ngila</i> (all with <i>ng</i> initial)

⁴ Contrast A. Walde, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2. Aufl., Heidelberg (1910), p. 249.

⁵ Cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

⁶ Cf. Barth, *op. cit.* p. 102.

⁷ Cf. F. R. Blake, "Contributions to Comparative Philippine Grammar," *J. A. O. S.*, 27 (1906) [Pronouns derived from particles], pp. 337-396; K. Wied, *Anleitung zur Erlernung der Türkischen Sprache*, 5. Aufl. (Hartleben), pp. 26, 29, 34 f.; F. Görg, *Lehrbuch d. Ungarischen Sprache*, 11. Aufl. (Hartleben), p. 51; F. v. Ney, *Ungarische Sprachlehre*, 27. Aufl., Budapest (1903), p. 23; M. Wellewill, *Gram. d. Finnischen Sprache*, 2. Aufl. (Hartleben), pp. 35, 40; A. Seidel, *Die Suahilisprache*, 3. Aufl. (= Koch's *Sprachführer*, Bd. 22), Dresden u. Leipzig (1912), pp. 9, 12; A. Seidel, *Praktische Grammatiken d. Hauptsprachen Deutsch-Südwest-Africas*, 2. Aufl. (Hartleben), pp. 136, 138; A. G. Morice, *The Carrier Language*, Vienna (1932) [= *Anthropos Linguistische Bibliothek IX*], Vol. I, pp. 169, 169; F. Müller, *Grundriss d. Sprachwissenschaft*, Wien (1882-1886), Bd. II, 1, pp. 20, 21; III, 1, pp. 148, 150 and note.

Many other examples of correspondence between first and second personal pronouns on the one hand and demonstrative forms on the other could doubtless be cited, but enough has been said, I think, to show that many traces of one of the most primitive of linguistic processes, viz., the infection of demonstrative particles with first and second personal meaning, through wrong division of the semantic content of expressions for the speaker and the person addressed, are still to be found after milleniums of time in languages as we have them today.

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ON THE COMPOSITION OF XENOPHON'S *HELLENICA*.

(Continued from Page 139)

PART II.

There are two passages, Dion. Hal. *Epist. ad On. Pomp.* 4, 1 and Marcell. *Vit. Thuc.* 45, which are very frequently taken to prove that our *Hellenica* consists of two originally separate parts. Hatzfeld, *op. cit.*, 114-17, studies these passages carefully, and finds that this conclusion cannot justifiably be drawn from them. Some of the points he makes may be questioned, but there is no disputing his general conclusion. In this connection see also Volckmar, *De Xen. Hell. comment. hist.-crit.* (1837), 14-15. The ordinary interpretation of these passages would, of course, offer evidence for Hatzfeld's bipartite theory of the composition of the *Hellenica*. Hatzfeld's rejection of this evidence is a good indication of its weakness, and of the discriminating impartiality with which he has studied the whole problem of the composition of the *Hellenica*.

Not a few scholars have maintained that a division should be made at the end of book II, and not after II, 3, 10. Their arguments must be examined.

Hell. VI, 4, 37 mentions the assassination of Alexander of Pherae. This occurred in 358.⁵⁰ The *Hellenica*, therefore, was not finished until after this date. With this fact in mind, Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, 195, calls attention to the last words of book II. Describing the reconciliation of the Athenian oligarchs and democrats in 401, Xenophon says: "And after swearing that in very truth they would not bear resentment, they have lived together as citizens to this day, and the democracy has remained loyal to its pledge" (II, 4, 43). Niebuhr claims that these words would have no point if written many years after the reconciliation; that they must have been written long before 358. And so he argues for a division of the *Hellenica* into two parts at the end of book II. Niebuhr's contention for the early dating of II, 4, 43 has been successfully overthrown by Sauppe, *op. cit.*, 307-08, and Hatzfeld, *op. cit.*, 120-22.

⁵⁰ Cf. Nitsche, *Ueber die Abfass. von Xen. Hell.* (1871), 15 ff.

De Sanctis, *op. cit.*, 11 ff., likewise places the break at the end of the second book. His argument is that the second and third books do not join well. Book II ends with the reconciliation of 401/400 at Athens (*cf.* Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 40, 4 for the date). Book III begins thus: "So ended the civil strife at Athens. After this Cyrus sent messengers to Lacedaemon asking the Lacedaemonians to help him, since he had helped them in the war against the Athenians." This embassy cannot have been sent later than 402/01, for it was in the spring of 401 that the expedition of Cyrus actually got under way. "After this", therefore, is a blunder. And so De Sanctis maintains that books II and III were not written continuously; that some time intervened between the writing of these two books; that Xenophon's chronological error points to a careless joining together of two originally separate parts.⁵¹ With this we may take issue. On the supposition that the beginning of book III was written immediately after the end of book II, we can understand the anachronism if with Hatzfeld we suppose, what we have no reason to doubt, that these words were written a good many years after 401. Obviously the civil war at Athens, regarded as one group of events, antedates the expedition of Cyrus, considered as a whole. We can readily see how a none too careful author like Xenophon, writing some time after these occurrences, when his memory of the details was uncertain, might not have stopped to ascertain whether the very last events of the former story preceded or followed certain preliminaries to the latter story. This slight overlapping, probably a matter of a twelvemonth or less, is not a serious matter for Xenophon to have overlooked. Compared with some of the baffling chronological problems raised by the text of book I, this anachronism is a mere trifle. Furthermore, we have reason to believe, on stylistic grounds, that the beginning of book III was written at the same time as the ending of book II. Consider the form of the first sentence in book III, ἡ μὲν δὴ Ἀθήνησι στάσις οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν. This sentence is a perfect example of the type that Xenophon so often uses at the conclusion of a narrative to sum it up and round it off. In our preceding discussion of these

⁵¹ De Sanctis believes that books I-II were written after, not before, III-V, 1, 36. For a discussion of this, see below, pp. 259-261.

sentences fifty examples in the *Hellenica* were enumerated. The first sentence in book III is thus definitely indicated as being closely connected with the narrative at the end of book II. It does not, then, seem possible to agree with De Sanctis that on account of this anachronism a division of the *Hellenica* should be made at the end of book II.

De Sanctis feels that he must offer some explanation for the fact that stylistic changes seem to begin after II, 3, 10 and not after II, 4, 43. He suggests that the monotonous character of the narrative and the scarcity of particles in I-II, 3, 10 are the result of Xenophon's writing in the annalistic style. The changes in these respects that begin after II, 3, 10 betoken Xenophon's liberation from the annalistic method, and his greater interest in his subject. So argues De Sanctis. It is very hard to believe that an annalistic method of narrating events leads, *per se*, to monotony, or that it tends to reduce the number of particles appearing in the narrative. It does seem that if Xenophon had wished, he could have used *μήν*, for example, in the earlier annalistic narrative just as freely as he did in the later part of the *Hellenica*.

The next question to consider is the possibility of dividing the *Hellenica* at V, 1, 36. There are certain passages in *Hell.* B and C which, the claim is made, must have been written some time before 358, the earliest date for the composition of VI, 4, 37. For this reason, scholars have argued for a point of division before VI, 4, 37, and have generally located it at V, 1, 36. Now the reasons for assigning a date long in advance of 358 do not seem convincing in the case of any of these passages. First let us consider IV, 3, 16. Here Xenophon says of the battle of Coronea (394) that it was "like no other battle of our day." Grosser⁵² believes that such a statement would not have been written after Mantinea (362) or Leuctra (371). Hatzfeld, *op. cit.*, 122-23, argues with some plausibility against Grosser, and De Sanctis, *op. cit.*, 7, argues with less success against Hatzfeld. To the present writer it would not seem surprising if Xenophon should write, after 362, a rather rhetorical exaggeration of the importance of Coronea, for this battle was one of the great exploits of Xenophon's hero Agesilaus. Be this as it may, there

⁵² *Fleckeis. Jahrb.* 95 (1867), 743.

is one fact which does seem to prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that Xenophon could have written IV, 3, 16 after Mantinea. In the *Agésilau*s (I, 9), Xenophon describes the battle of Coronea in just the same terms. If Xenophon could so characterize this battle in the *Agésilau*s, written of course after Agésilau's death and therefore after Mantinea, how can it be argued that the same statement in the *Hellenica* must have been written before Mantinea? ⁵³ The upshot of the matter is that IV, 3, 16 could have been written before, during, or after the battle of Mantinea, equally well, and that there is no reason here to look for a break in the composition of the *Hellenica* between IV, 3, 16 and VI, 4, 37.

Next we must examine IV, 4, 15. Nitsche, *op. cit.*, 5-6, believes that a *terminus ante quem* can be found for the dating of this passage. Here Xenophon praises the Lacedaemonians for their moderation in refusing to compel the Phliasians to restore their pro-Lacedaemonian exiles in 392. Nitsche holds that Xenophon would not have written this commendation after the occurrence of such Lacedaemonian outrages as the overthrow of the Phliasian government in 379 (V, 3, 25), and the seizure of the Cadmeia in 333 (V, 2, 25 ff.). This contention seems very uncertain. There is no reason why Xenophon, writing at a time when his eyes were opened to the ruthless self-interest of contemporary Lacedaemonian policy, could not have praised an earlier action which seemed to him admirably disinterested.

⁵³ De Sanctis, *op. cit.*, 6, believes that in the *Agésilau*s, Xenophon did not write *καὶ γὰρ ἐγένετο ὁμοίως οὐκ ἄλλη τῶν γ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν* for the same reason that he wrote the similar statement in the *Hellenica*. In the *Agésilau*s, according to De Sanctis, the words are written in order to justify the preceding *ἐτηγέσθαι* which seems out of place inasmuch as a laudatory paragraph (not in the *Hellenica*) has been inserted between the enumeration of the forces and the account of the battle itself. (In the *Hellenica* the account of the battle follows, logically enough, directly after the enumeration of forces.) Now the fact remains that, whatever the motive may have been, Xenophon did say of Coronea in the *Agésilau*s *ἐγένετο ὁμοίως οὐκ ἄλλη, κτλ.*, and after all this is the main point.

Nitsche, *op. cit.*, 5, too, believes that IV, 3, 16 must have been written before Mantinea. When confronted by the same statement in the *Agésilau*s, Nitsche takes refuge in the theory that the historical part, at least, of the *Agésilau*s was not written by Xenophon.

Could he not give the devil his due to this extent? This passage can hardly be said to offer any reliable evidence as to the date of its composition.

Two passages which are often invoked as an argument for separating *Hell. B* from *Hell. C* are III, 5, 25 and V, 2, 3.⁵⁴ In III, 5, 25 where the events of 395 are being described, Xenophon mentions in anticipation the death of Pausanias, which as a matter of fact did not occur until 381 at least.⁵⁵ In V, 2, 3 Pausanias is mentioned again as participating in the events of 385. It is considered strange that Xenophon should usher Pausanias off the stage in III, 5, 25, only to bring him back again in V, 2, 3; and the explanation is given that when III, 5, 25 was written Xenophon planned to carry his history only as far as the Peace of Antalcidas (V, 1, 36), and so the death of Pausanias, coming after this date, had to be mentioned in advance, in III, 5, 25. As evidence for a break at V, 1, 36 these speculations are not convincing. They do not make adequate allowance for Xenophon's carelessness in composition. If, for example, Xenophon can mention the un-introduced Chares (VII, 2, 18) as a familiar figure,⁵⁶ there can be no great significance in his bringing Pausanias back on the scene after the final farewell. Xenophon, if he intended to continue his history beyond the date of Pausanias' death, certainly could have chronicled this event in III, 5, 25 without pausing to ask himself whether he would have later occasion for an incidental allusion to Pausanias. To deny that Xenophon could have so written III, 5, 25 is to ascribe to him a far more systematic scrupulousness than his work in the *Hellenica* reveals.

There is still another argument for making a division of the *Hellenica* at V, 1, 36 that remains to be considered. Inconsistency in Xenophon's treatment of the character of Agesipolis is found by Nitsche, *op. cit.*, 6-7, who asserts that Agesipolis is ridiculed in IV, 7, 2-7, but praised in V, 3, 9 and V, 3, 20. This does not seem a strong argument for dividing the *Hellenica* at V, 1, 36. The high calibre of Agesipolis' army, emphasized in

⁵⁴ Cf. Nitsche, *op. cit.*, 5-6.

⁵⁵ Cf. Hatzfeld, *op. cit.*, 120.

⁵⁶ For a list of oversights of a similar nature in the *Hellenica*, cf. Underhill, *op. cit.*, XVI ff., XXXI ff.

V, 3, 9, is as much an indication of Spartan respect for Olynthian prowess as it is a tribute to Agesipolis' personal qualities of leadership; and furthermore Xenophon suggests that it was the official position of Agesipolis rather than his personality that attracted these fine soldiers. And in V, 3, 20 Xenophon is merely paying gracious respect to the memory of Agesipolis in connection with the account of his death. So much, then, for the attempts to divide the *Hellenica* at V, 1, 36.

A question that has been much discussed is the relative order of composition of the *Hellenica* and the *Agésilas*. From the numerous common passages in the two works, some scholars have concluded that the *Hellenica* was written first and was drawn upon by Xenophon when he wrote the *Agésilas*. Others, however, believe that the *Agésilas* was written first, and that Xenophon in the *Hellenica* borrowed extensively from it. The weight of the evidence would seem to favor the supposition that the *Hellenica* is the earlier work. Careful studies of this problem have been made by W. Seyffert,⁵⁷ and A. Opitz.⁵⁸ They find that a great many words of the *Hellenica* are changed slightly in the *Agésilas*, and that these changes make for a greater finish and elegance. It is hard to escape the conclusion of Seyffert and Opitz that the *Hellenica* was written first, and that material derived from it was given further polish and refinement for use in the rhetorical encomium. In all probability the *Hellenica*, at least as far as V, 4, 49 (or § 38?), the latest passage that has a parallel in the *Agésilas*, was composed before the *Agésilas* was written.

This is not the unanimous opinion of scholars, however. According to De Sanctis, *op. cit.*, 1-11, some of the evidence suggests that the *Hellenica* preceded the *Agésilas*, while there are other indications that the *Agésilas* came first. To explain this apparent paradox De Sanctis offers the theory that Xenophon in writing the *Agésilas* had before him an unedited first draft of the *Hellenica* (extending at least as far as V, 4, 49), and that after the *Agésilas* was completed, Xenophon resumed work on the *Hellenica* and retouched some parts of it that were already written. On the strength of this theory, De Sanctis, *op. cit.*,

⁵⁷ *De Xen. Ages. Quæst.* (1906).

⁵⁸ *Quæstiones Xenophontæ: De Hell. atque Ages. necessitudine* (1912).

15 ff., proceeds to belittle the force of the stylistic arguments for a division of the *Hellenica* at II, 3, 10. Believing that our *Hellenica* is not Xenophon's first draft, De Sanctis argues that later retouchings will account for such changes as the use of ἀκολουθεῖν instead of ἔπεσθαι in the last part of the *Hellenica*. In the opinion of De Sanctis we cannot tell from our text just what the first draft was like, and so statistics gathered from our present text are likely to be altogether misleading.

Let us examine the evidence which De Sanctis cites as indicating that the *Agésilau*s preceded the *Hellenica*. While the majority of the parallel passages, in De Sanctis' opinion, tend to prove the priority of the *Hellenica*, there are two passages which indicate to him that the *Agésilau*s is the earlier work. In *Ages.* I, 28, Xenophon says προείπε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς στρατιώταις, ὡς εἶθ' ἡγήσονται τὴν συντομωτάτην ἐπὶ τὰ κράτιστα τῆς χώρας, ὅπως αὐτόθεν αὐτῷ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν γνώμην παρασκευάζονται ὡς ἀγωνιούμενοι. In *Hell.* III, 4, 20 we have προείπεν αὐτοῖς ὡς εἶθ' ἡγήσονται τὴν συντομωτάτην ἐπὶ τὰ κράτιστα τῆς χώρας, ὅπως αὐτόθεν οὕτω τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν γνώμην παρασκευάζονται ὡς ἀγωνιούμενοι, but before these words Xenophon has spoken of thirty Spartiatae (unmentioned in the *Agésilau*s) who have just arrived from Greece to serve as generals in *Agésilau*s' army. Consequently *Agésilau*s' words in the *Hellenica* seem to be addressed to these thirty officers (αὐτοῖς), and not to the soldiers, as in the *Agésilau*s. De Sanctis argues that the version of the *Agésilau*s is correct and earlier, and that the mention of the thirty generals is a careless addition which destroys the logic of the passage. He offers two arguments to support his belief that the account given in the *Agésilau*s is the correct one: 1) Tissaphernes learned that *Agésilau*s had announced his intention of advancing by the most direct route (*i. e.*, toward Sardis) into hostile territory (*cf. Hell.* III, 4, 21); this proves that the plans of *Agésilau*s were discussed before the whole army, for the news would not have reached Tissaphernes had the announcement been made only at a small council of officers; 2) *Agésilau*s could have told the *soldiers*, but not the newly-arrived *officers*, to hold their minds and bodies in readiness for the coming campaign. For these two reasons De Sanctis concludes that the mention in the *Hellenica* of the thirty generals is a later addition, thoughtlessly worked into the already existing narrative of the *Agésilau*s. As regards De

Sanctis' first argument, we may reasonably doubt, after reading *Anab.* VII, 1, 13-14 whether a group of officers could prevent the soldiers from learning about matters discussed in council. Furthermore, we may be sure that Agesilaus took good care to see that Tissaphernes heard of this intended march toward Sardis. In III, 4, 11 ff. we are told how Agesilaus crossed Tissaphernes by allowing false information to reach him. Here Tissaphernes, taking indications of an impending raid on Caria at their face value, protected Caria, while Agesilaus made instead a successful surprise attack on Phrygia. Now in III, 4, 20 ff. Agesilaus double-crossed Tissaphernes by proceeding toward Sardis in accordance with his avowed intentions, while Tissaphernes, refusing to be crossed a second time, waited in Caria to meet Agesilaus. It was part of Agesilaus' well-conceived strategy that this true information should reach Tissaphernes. Accordingly we are not disposed to agree with De Sanctis in his belief that Tissaphernes' knowledge of Agesilaus' plans proves that these plans were announced to the whole army.⁵⁹ In reply to De Sanctis' second argument, we may point out that his understanding of the clause *ὅπως αὐτόθεν οὕτω τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν γνώμην παρασκευάζουσιν ὡς ἀγωνοζόμενοι* is open to question. We need not suppose that Xenophon actually told officers (or men) to hold their bodies and minds in readiness. Is it not rather that he simply announced to them that he was going to lead them against the enemy by the shortest possible route; and that his *object* in telling them this was to get their bodies and minds prepared? Compare Brownson's translation, "He announced to them that he would immediately lead them by the shortest route to the best parts of the country, his object being to have them begin at once to prepare their bodies and spirits for the fray." Realizing that the officers have just come from the peace and quiet of Sparta, Agesilaus wishes to get them as quickly as possible into good physical and mental condition for active campaigning. To this end (*cf.* *ὅπως*) he tells them that he is going to lead them into the enemy's country by the shortest possible route. Could not this have been said to the generals? As far as the evidence of these passages is concerned, we are not com-

⁵⁹ It is all probability the announcement *was* made to the soldiers, as Xenophon says in the *Agesilaus*. But Tissaphernes' knowledge of the plan has no bearing on the matter.

pelled to believe that the *Agésilas* antedates the *Hellenica*. There is no inconsistency between the two accounts, and no improbability in either one of them. All we need suppose is that these orders were issued from headquarters through ordinary channels to officers and men alike.

De Sanctis offers further evidence which indicates, in his opinion, that the *Hellenica* was written after the *Agésilas*. In several instances where ἀκολουθεῖν and περί occur in the *Hellenica*, the corresponding passages in the *Agésilas* have ἐπεσθαι and ἀμφί. It is not necessary to agree with De Sanctis that these changes indicate the priority of the *Agésilas*. On the supposition that the *Hellenica* was written first we can explain these words in the *Agésilas* by appealing to certain stylistic considerations which seem to have influenced Xenophon in the composition of the rhetorical encomium. Opitz, *op. cit.*, definitely establishes that Xenophon tends to avoid, in the *Agésilas*, an ordinary prosaic word, and to prefer a rare or poetic synonym; that he seeks to maintain a certain uniformity in his choice of words; and that he strives for rhetorical effect by the lavish introduction of figures such as homoeoteleuton. These considerations will adequately explain the changes mentioned by De Sanctis. See Opitz, *op. cit.*, especially pp. 17 ff., 27 ff., 32 ff.

It seems, then, that the evidence offered by De Sanctis for the *Agésilas*' priority to the *Hellenica* is not convincing. There is, therefore, no conflict of evidence in this connection which requires for its explanation the assumption of wholesale retouchings in a first draft of the *Hellenica*. And so the doubts of De Sanctis (based on this assumption) as to the validity of the statistical method as applied to the *Hellenica* need not disturb us.

Agésilas probably died in the winter of 361/60. In all likelihood Xenophon's encomium, being a genuinely heartfelt tribute, was not long delayed. Its composition, then, would seem to have interrupted Xenophon's work on the *Hellenica* at some point between V, 4, 49 (the latest passage of the *Hellenica* used in the *Agésilas*) and VI, 4, 37 (written no earlier than 358).⁶⁰

We must discuss one more attempt which has been made to date the *Hellenica*'s composition. In *Hell.* I, 7, 15 we are told how Socrates, as *prytanis*, objected to the illegal proposition to

⁶⁰ Cf. Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, 506, n. 1.

try the generals of Arginusæ in a body; in I, 7, 34 the number of generals condemned is given as eight; in I, 7, 1-2 the names of the eight are listed, and it is related that two of them did not come to Athens to stand trial. This, according to Rapaport, *op. cit.*, contradicts in two respects the account of these proceedings found in the *Memorabilia*, where the number of generals is given as nine (*Mem.* I, 1, 18), and where Socrates is described not as a *prytanis* but as the *ἐπιστάτης* (*Mem.* I, 1, 18; IV, 4, 2). In Rapaport's opinion, Socrates cannot have been the *ἐπιστάτης*, for if he were, how could the proposal have been put to a vote without his consent? Rapaport concludes that the version of the *Memorabilia* is inaccurate and earlier, and that Xenophon had not yet begun to write or to collect material for the *Hellenica* when he composed the *Memorabilia*, else the errors in the *Memorabilia* would have been corrected. Since Rapaport believes that the date of the *Memorabilia* is 365 or later, he agrees with Schwartz that the whole *Hellenica* must have been written at one time near the end of Xenophon's life. Rapaport supposes that Plato, in *Apol.* 32 B, is the source for the erroneous account that Xenophon gives in the *Memorabilia*. This point does not seem well taken. For Plato here describes Socrates as *prytanis*, and says that ten generals were tried.⁶¹ Thus we see that this alleged source deviates from the *Memorabilia* in just the same two respects that the *Hellenica* does. If, as Rapaport claims, discrepancies between the *Memorabilia* and the *Hellenica* prove that the *Memorabilia* was written first, then it would seem that the similar discrepancies between the *Memorabilia* and the *Apology* should preclude the possibility that Xenophon here used Plato as his source. Regarding the accuracy of the account in the *Memorabilia*, we may well question Rapaport's assumption that no proposal could be brought to a vote in the ecclesia over the objection of the *ἐπιστάτης*. Rapaport himself acknowledges that this is a pure assumption; he is able to cite no evidence in direct support of it; and he admits that he has no detailed knowledge of the powers that the *ἐπιστάτης* possessed at this time. And furthermore, it is clear that there is really no contradiction at all between the accounts where Socrates is described as *prytanis*, and those where he is described as *ἐπιστάτης*. For of course the *ἐπιστάτης* was one of the

⁶¹ Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 34, repeating Plato's error, gives the number as ten.

prytanes; and in Thuc. VI, 14 the ἐπιστάτης (in the year 415) is actually addressed by a speaker, ὁ πρύτανι. Since, then, the term *prytanis* could be applied to the ἐπιστάτης and since we do not know what control the ἐπιστάτης had over an unruly ecclesia and a thoroughly cowed body of prytanes, we are at liberty to assume that Socrates actually was the ἐπιστάτης. And so one of Rapaport's alleged discrepancies between the *Memorabilia* and the *Hellenica* would seem to be non-existent. With regard to the number of generals, we may have confidence in the circumstantial account of the *Hellenica*. The number nine in our text of the *Memorabilia* may possibly be explained as a scribal error, arising from the similarity in sound between "eta" and "theta". But it seems more likely that Xenophon himself is responsible for the error in the *Memorabilia*, and that his mistake comes from his careless use of his own words in *Hell.* I, 7, 1, "Now the people at home deposed the above-mentioned generals, with the exception of Conon" (Brownson), οἱ δ' ἐν οἴκῳ τούτους μὲν τοὺς στρατηγούς ἐπαισαν πλὴν Κόνωνος. We may suppose that Xenophon, writing the *Memorabilia* long after these events took place, turned to this passage in the *Hellenica* to refresh his recollection of the details. He read the sentence just quoted, and he took τούτους τοὺς στρατηγούς to refer to the full board of ten generals recently enumerated in I, 5, 16.⁶² He would have found in the *Hellenica* no mention of the death of Archestratus, one of the ten generals listed in I, 5, 16 (this event, overlooked by Xenophon, is mentioned in Lys. XXI, 8). Subtracting only Conon's name (cf. πλὴν Κόνωνος), Xenophon calculated that nine must have been the number deposed, and so he imagined that nine was the number actually condemned. Had he read a little farther into *Hell.* I, 7 he would have found the list of eight names given, but he carelessly neglected to do so. These passages, then, indicate that *Hell.* A is earlier and not later than the *Memorabilia*, a conclusion that would invalidate Rapaport's argument for the unitarian position.

From these same passages Valeton,⁶³ a non-unitarian, also concludes that the account in the *Memorabilia* was written prior to the version of the *Hellenica*. He argues from this that the

⁶² Has a new year intervened between I, 5, 16 and I, 7, 1? See Ferguson in *C. A. H.* V, 484, but cf. *Hell.* I, 6, 1.

⁶³ *Sertum Nabericum* (1908), 387-402.

first two books of the *Hellenica* must have been written later than the third book, with the *Memorabilia* intervening. But since the arguments for the *Memorabilia*'s priority to *Hell.* I, 7 are unconvincing, we are not compelled to accept Valetón's theory of the late composition of *Hell.* I-II.

This theory, by the way, has found several adherents in recent years. De Sanctis, *op. cit.*, 15 states that to the best of his knowledge, no one has raised a question as to the relative order of composition of the first section (*i. e.*, books I-II) and the succeeding section. He has apparently overlooked the work of Valetón, *op. cit.*, Richter,⁶⁴ Pohlenz, *loc. cit.*, Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, 504, and Fräulein Vorrenhagen, *op. cit.*, 7-8, 140, all of whom raise this question and favor the theory that the first part of the *Hellenica* was written after, and not before, the second part. In support of this theory De Sanctis argues that in *Hell.* III, 1, 4 Xenophon shows anti-democratic prejudice in telling how the democracy sent to Thibron 300 oligarchic knights, in the hope that this force would not come back alive. This, as De Sanctis would have it, is in marked contrast with the tribute Xenophon pays at the end of book II to the forbearance of the restored democracy. De Sanctis believes that III, 1, 4 must be dated in the early period of Xenophon's banishment, and that II, 4, 40-43 must have been written at a later time, when Xenophon had hopes of a reconciliation with Athens. This conclusion of De Sanctis seems questionable. What right have we to assume that Xenophon as a historian would call attention to undeniably admirable conduct of his political opponents only at a time when he had expectation of getting something in return?⁶⁵ And let us consider the alleged anti-democratic prejudice of III, 1, 4. The action of the democrats in sending the oligarchic knights to Asia was so pointed, that Xenophon's citation of the motive is all but superfluous. If the democrats did so act, in spite of their promises to bear no malice,

⁶⁴ *Op. cit.*, cf. above, n. 32.

⁶⁵ Xenophon, certain prejudices notwithstanding, seems to have been an essentially fair-minded man. He shows much willingness to give credit where credit is due. After praising, in VII, 5, 16, the Athenians for helping Mantinea against Thebes, he writes in 19 ff. a genuine appreciation of the soldierly qualities of Epaminondas. And all his friendship for Sparta does not prevent him from condemning most emphatically her actions after 387/6.

this lapse could be forgiven them, for the provocation was great. It would not take a violent oligarchic partisan to call attention to this altogether pardonable manifestation of human nature. If Xenophon could censure as he does the outrages committed after the peace of Antalcidas by his friends the Spartans, surely he could have written this mild criticism of the Athenian democrats at a time, late in his life, when friendly relations had once more been established. The belief of De Sanctis that III, 1, 4 antedates the end of book II rests on very slender foundations.

There seems to be no strong positive evidence for the later composition of the first part of the *Hellenica*. On the negative side, this theory does violence to the natural, orderly picture of the development of Xenophon's style. It would compel us to suppose that Xenophon, after his individual style had been fully developed in the *Anabasis* and in *Hell. B*, deliberately abandoned his own methods of writing, and made in *Hell. A* an attempt to reproduce the style of Thucydides, because here he was completing the unfinished work of his predecessor. Only thus can Fräulein Vorrenhagen explain the many resemblances in style that *Hell. A* bears to the history of Thucydides.⁶⁶ Assuming, with her, the tripartite theory of composition, can we imagine Xenophon laying aside his pen after II, 3, 10 with a sigh of relief, as much as to say, before proceeding with *Hell. C*, "Thank heaven that's over; now I can be myself again"? The stylistic resemblances to Thucydides' book are so much more reasonably explained if *Hell. A* is an early and comparatively immature work, for in this case Thucydidean influence is a perfectly natural thing, with nothing forced or artificial about it whatsoever.

It is questioned by Blake⁶⁷ whether the statistics regarding *μήν* really warrant the assumption of a division at II, 3, 10. Blake maintains, in effect, that the statisticians, in all consistency, should assign an early date to passages after II, 3, 10 devoid of *μήν*. This reasoning does not appear sound. Only after II, 3, 10 does *μήν* become an ordinary feature of Xenophon's style in the *Hellenica*. All at once Xenophon breaks the

⁶⁶ *Op. cit.*, 7-8. Fräulein Vorrenhagen, be it said, is not dogmatic in her belief that *Hell. A* was composed after *Hell. B*. She regards this theory with favor, but she does not consider it as definitely established.

⁶⁷ *The Hellenica of Xenophon Books I and II* (1894), XXVI.

ice, as it were, and allows himself to use this particle. But once the ice has been broken, he need not be expected to use the word on every page. It can hardly be an accident that *μήν*, so common in the later books of the *Hellenica*, does not occur once in the ninety-three Teubner pages of the combined *Cynegeticus* and *Hell. A*. No comparable extent of text lacking *μήν* is to be found in the *Hellenica* after II, 2, 10; the longest stretch is III, 1, 7-III, 5, 7, i. e., twenty-eight pages (cf. Blake, *loc. cit.*). However, as far as the evidence of *μήν* alone is concerned, we should not be compelled to believe that much time intervened between the writing of *Hell. A* and the rest of the work. Xenophon could have abandoned a prejudice against *μήν* over night. But we can scarcely imagine that over one and the same night he also divested himself of his prejudices against *καί* . . . *δέ*, *ἄτε*, *ὥστε*, *αὖ*, *μέντοι*; that he became increasingly addicted to the use of *γέ* and *δή*, and of the future optative; that he developed a liking for *τρόπαιον ἵστασθαι*, *ἀκολουθεῖν*, *ἐκ τούτου*, and a corresponding distaste for *τρόπαιον ἱστάναι*, *ἔπεισθαι*, *μετὰ ταῦτα*; that he came to feel that it was proper for him to make use of the first person pronoun, and to display his sense of humor; that he acquired, withal, a lamentable tendency toward sententious utterance; that he became all at once a contriver of the most shrewdly subtle rhetorical arguments; that he assumed an interest in the personal characteristics of the people of his history; that he began to write in a totally different spirit, with a vividness and an attention to picturesque detail altogether new; that he developed certain other stylistic mannerisms which we have duly noted.

All things considered, then, the evidence seems to point to the theory of composition advocated by E. Müller and Hatzfeld. *Hell. I-II*, 3, 10 was, apparently, one of Xenophon's earliest works. The rest of the *Hellenica* was probably written after an interval of a good many years, during which period Xenophon's style was radically changed as a result of his work on the *Anabasis*. In all likelihood the composition of this part of the *Hellenica* was spread out over a considerable period of time, but we are not compelled to suppose that a division of the work occurs at V, 1, 36.

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NOTE ON THE DECREES OF KALLIAS.

The credit for first subjecting to minute and careful scrutiny the famous stone now in Paris which bears the Athenian financial decrees of Kallias belongs to Wade-Gery. His readings, published in 1931 in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, mark a new epoch in the interpretation of these documents.¹ I have no intention of entering upon a discussion of the date of these decrees, for I consider it proved that they both belong in the year 434/3 B. C., the first and not the last year of a Panathenaic period.² This is, in fact, the date which Wade-Gery now accepts (*J. H. S.*, LIII [1933], p. 135), in spite of his earlier open thesis for 422 B. C. or 418 B. C.

The new readings, however, deserve some comment because of the important bearing they have on the restoration of certain clauses on the badly damaged surface of Face B (*I. G.*, I², 92).³ In the winter of 1929 I had occasion to examine the stone in Paris. My observations at that time confirmed the new readings, which Wade-Gery had already communicated to me by letter. In particular, I was interested in the initial letters of Face B, line 20, where the restoration of the *Corpus* is [ἐκ | δὲ τῶν φόρων] κατατίθεναι ——. Not only is the right vertical hasta of nu partly preserved before the word κατατίθεναι, but part of a vertical hasta is preserved also in the letter space before this nu, on the narrow ridge of marble which now extends from top to bottom along the left edge of the inscribed surface. Both these strokes are visible in the excellent photograph given by Wade-Gery in *J. H. S.*, LI (1931), plate III, and they are indicated by him in his facsimile drawing, *ibidem*, plate I. The restoration [ἐκ | δὲ τῶν φόρων] is not compatible with the letters on the stone and must be rejected. My first suggestion was to read [ἐς | δὲ τὸν πόλιν]. Wade-Gery accepted this in principle, though he preferred to omit the definite article τὸν (correctly, I believe) in order to secure the conventional formulaic phrase ἐς πόλιν. He was then able to assume that the last two letter spaces of line 19

¹ H. T. Wade-Gery, "The Financial Decrees of Kallias," *J. H. S.*, LI (1931), pp. 57-85 and Plates I-III.

² W. Kolbe, *Sitzb. Ak. Berlin*, 1933, pp. 154-176.

³ The lines of Face B (*I. G.*, I², 92) are numbered as in the transcript on pp. 273-274 below.

were left uninscribed, and to restore [καὶ ἐς πόλιν] at the beginning of line 20.⁴

This restoration is not really satisfactory, for if the subject treated in line 20 is sufficiently different from that which precedes to justify a new paragraph (with two uninscribed letter spaces at the end of line 19), then the particle δέ, not the connective καί, is required at the beginning of line 20.⁵ We should read [ἐς δὲ πόλιν], just as line 26 begins with [ἡ πόσις δὲ τῶν] χρυσάτων. But the words [ἐς δὲ πόλιν] do not meet the requirements of space at the beginning of line 20. Kolbe finds it impossible to reconcile any form of the expression ἐς πόλιν with the verb κατατιθέναι which is preserved on the stone. This argument against ἐς πόλιν seems to me too fine-drawn. Where ἐς πόλιν means "on the acropolis" and κατατιθέναι means "to deposit," I see no inherent objection to combining the two phrases to mean "to deposit on the acropolis." But this is beside the point; the real objection to [ἐς δὲ πόλιν] is that the restoration is too short by one letter. Kolbe has suggested the reading [τὸ δὲ λαμπρόν].

This restoration has the requisite number of letters to fill out the beginning of line 20, but it is subject to the same fatal objection as the [ἐκ | δὲ τῶν φόρων] of Kirchhoff's day: the penultimate letter of the phrase cannot be O; it must instead be I.

But Kolbe has argued that O is still possible, and that there can be no epigraphical objection either to his [τὸ δὲ λαμπρόν] or to Kirchhoff's [ἐκ | δὲ τῶν φόρων]. After studying the stone in Paris he was convinced that the stroke which Wade-Gery and I have read as iota is not an intentional stroke of any letter, but that the surface of the stone at the point in question has been lost to a depth of more than 1 mm. (the depth of the strokes of the letters). Klaffenbach and Nesselhauf examined the squeeze in the Berlin Academy, and reported that the vertical stroke—so far as they could tell—might or might not be part of a letter.⁶

I read these determinations made by Kolbe with great surprise. His published report reached me in Athens in the spring of 1933; and in June of the same year I again made a careful

⁴ Cf. Wade-Gery, *J. H. S.*, LI (1931), pp. 61-63 and notes 20, 21.

⁵ Cf. Kolbe, *Sitzb. Ak. Berlin*, 1933, p. 163.

⁶ Kolbe, *Sitzb. Ak. Berlin*, 1933, p. 163.

examination of the stone in Paris. The vertical stroke which Kolbe rejects is clearly an intentional stroke. M. Charbonneau kindly consented to examine the stone with me, and was good enough to allow me to quote him as saying that the stroke was perfectly clear to him. He did not wish, however, to commit himself to the identification of the letter as iota. I must disagree with Kolbe on yet another score. He states that the surface along both edges of Face B has been chiselled away in Christian times, and that the depth of the chiselling amounts to "at least more than 1 mm." At the point where this stroke occurs, the



FIG. 1

loss of surface is less than one-half of one millimetre. Wade-Gery found that there was "not room for a hair" between the surface at this point and his straight-edge laid across the stone.⁷ My determination, made with a straight-edge, agrees with his; when measured from the original surface level (determined by the straight-edge) the depth of this cutting of iota is the same as the depth of the other letters in the inscription.

But this is not all. There are strokes of other letters on this left marginal band, which I am now able to record for the first time (Fig. 1). They are no more accidental than the stroke of iota, and indeed fall into place in the known restorations of lines 19-27. We should read in line 19, [α]ῖτροῖς; in line 20, [---]ω; in line 22, τ[δ]ν; and in line

27, ἡ[ο]ι. It is particularly gratifying to find confirmation on the stone for Wade-Gery's important restoration ἡ[ο]ι in line 27.

⁷ Wade-Gery, *J. H. S. J.* (1921), p. 81, note 20.

These strokes may all be discerned on the photograph presented by Wade-Gery in *J. H. S.*, LI (1931), plate III.

The only difficulty about reading the first two preserved letters in line 20 as [----]ιν is that the iota is not properly centred (cf. Wade-Gery, *op. cit.*, p. 62). But after all, this is no real difficulty; the letter iota was by no means always centred beneath the letter above it, and very good examples of misplacement toward the left (such as we find in line 20) are clear on this same document in [χρέμ]ασιν (line 18) and in ἡ[ο]ι νῦν (line 27). Whatever the restoration of line 20, it is clear that [τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν] and [ἐκ | δὲ τῶν φόρο]ν are epigraphically impossible. This discussion, though it deals with the determination of only one letter, is important because any evidence that is connected with what the ἡellenotamiai were to do with their funds in 434 is a matter of supreme concern. We shall return to this point later.

Other readings deserve some comment. In line 9, before the alpha, more than half of mu is preserved. The reading is [----]μα τὸν ἀρχιτέκ[τονα ----]. In the same line the reading τῶμ. Προ[πυλαίων ----] is probable. The traces on the stone favor mu, and not nu, in the word τῶμ; two central strokes may be discerned, which by themselves alone look like part of the letter upsilon. In line 14, Wade-Gery has already read the iota of μν[ρ]ί[ας]; directly above it is the alpha of χρῆσ[θ]α[ι].

In line 6, the restoration of the *Corpus* is [γγ]ραμένα. Kolbe (*Sitzb. Ak. Berlin*, 1933, pp. 175-176) repeats this reading, though Wade-Gery read the second preserved letter as gamma, not alpha. My own inspection of the stone in 1933 confirms that of Wade-Gery. The two sloping side-bars are clear, but the apex of the letter is lost. Enough of the surface of the stone between the side-bars is preserved to show that, if the cross-bar of alpha ever existed there, it must have been cut very shallow (so as now to be entirely lost by weathering) or else very high within the apex. Purely epigraphical considerations, in my opinion, demand the reading [----]ργμένα. This has also the advantage of being correct in form orthographically. Those who prefer [γγ]ραμένα not only make a questionable reading of the first alpha, but assume that the word was misspelled. I do not believe the matter is susceptible of strictly formal proof one way or

the other. But if a satisfactory restoration is possible with the letter gamma instead of alpha, then that reading would seem to me preferable. Wade-Gery's suggestion [ἡορίσαι πλὴν μὲ τὰ ἔχσε]ργμένα meets the necessary requirements, though I should prefer καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν [ὀρίζεν πλὴν | ἔ μὲ τὰ ἔχσε]ργμένα for the sake of the probable restoration [ὀρισ]θεῖ instead of [ποιε]θεῖ in line 7. The present reading of lines 5-7 is certainly troublesome. Obviously something is to be done to the acropolis; exactly what this something is must be read in the two verbs which were inscribed at the end of line 5 and in line 6. The second verb is ἐπι[σκευά]ζεν, which is repeated in line 7 as ἐπισκευα[σθεῖ]. The first verb has been lost from the stone, but the precise diction of epigraphic style requires that it be the present (?) infinitive of [-----]θεῖ which appears also in line 7. The old restoration [μετακοσμεῖν] (*I. G.*, I², 92) is out of the question, because [μετακοσμε]θεῖ cannot be supplied in line 7. Similarly, the verb [ποιε]θεῖ in line 7 cannot be correct, because the restoration [ποιεῖν] in line 5 would be meaningless. No one was to "make" the acropolis; in fact, whatever the verb to be supplied in line 5 and whether or not our argument from epigraphic style is valid that it should be the same as the verb in line 7, the restoration [ποιε]θεῖ of line 7 is unsatisfactory because its subject must, in all reason, be *ἡ ἀκρόπολις*. This is the logical interpretation of the sentence, and [ποιε]θεῖ can be retained only by the very loose assumption that some such idea as "work on the acropolis" is to be inferred from the words τὴν ἀκρόπολιν above. The mental agility required in making this shift is then called into play again with ἐπισκευα[σθεῖ], where the subject is obviously *ἡ ἀκρόπολις*, just as τὴν ἀκρόπολιν is the object of ἐπι[σκευά]ζεν in line 6. There seems to me no escape from the conclusion that the word to be restored in line 5 must be a form of the verb [...]θεῖ in line 7, and I restore:

----- καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν [ὀρίζεν πλὴν]
 [ἔ μὲ τὰ ἔχσε]ργμένα καὶ ἐπι[σκευά]ζεν δέκα τάλαντα ἀ[ναλίσκοντα]
 [σ τὸ ἐνιαυτ]ὸ ἡεκάστο ἡέος [ἀν ὀρισ]θεῖ καὶ ἐπισκευα[σθεῖ ὅς κέλλ]
 [ιστα· ----]

Following this clause of the decree come the provisions for collaboration of the *tamiai* and the architect in overseeing the work and for the preparation of the plan by the architect who

designed the Propylaia. Kolbe's reading [- τὸ δὲ γράμμα]a in line 9 is confirmed by the existence on the stone of the last mu in γράμμα. The restoration should be:

[. τὸ δὲ γράμ]μα τὸν ἀρχιτέκ[τονα τοι]ῆν [ὄ]σπερ τὸμ Προ[πυλαίων· -]

The use of the verbs ὀρίζεν and ἐπισκευάζεν in lines 5-7 is further confirmed by the readings now possible in lines 9-12, where again *he akropolis* appears as the subject of [ὀρισθ]έσεται and ἐπισκευασθέ[σεται]. The lines should be restored as follows:

[τος δὲ ἐπιμ]ελέσ[θο] μετὰ τῷ[ν ἐπιστ]ατῶν λόπος ἄριστ[α καὶ ἀκριβέ] [στατα ὀρισθ]έσεται *he akropolis* καὶ ἐπισκευασθέ[σεται τὰ θεό] [μενα· -----]

It is a noteworthy fact that the provision for work to be done is followed by the designation of the responsible party to see to it that the work is done correctly. The fixing of boundaries and the making of repairs on the acropolis was to be under the supervision of the architect and the epistatai. As may be inferred from line 12, the money to be spent was Athena's money. Now, one expects the same designation of responsible parties after the provision for work on the sculptures of the Parthenon, the Golden Nikai, and the Propylaia. They should of course be the epistatai, of whose existence we know, for the Parthenon and Propylaia at least, from the building accounts. These epistatai were naturally interested in the general plan for improvement of the acropolis, and for this reason they were made jointly responsible with the architect (Mnesikles) for that plan (μετὰ τῷ[ν ἐπιστ]ατῶν in line 10). But the treasurers of Athena were also concerned, for the money was to be furnished by them; so they too were made joint overseers of the undertaking ([χρυσ]εῖς πιστατόν[ο]ν in line 8). In order to justify the compound verb in line 8 and the reference to epistatai in line 10, the restoration at the end of line 4 and the beginning of line 5 should, in my opinion, be ἀπ[αντας τοὺς ἐπι]στατόντας κατὰ τὰ ἐφσεφί[σμένα]. The designation of these epistatai as responsible parties requires also in lines 3-4 the restoration [----- λόπος δ' ἂν ἐκποι]εῖται instead of [----- ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐκποι]εῖται. As a matter of fact boards of epistatai had been responsible for the work on the Parthenon,

the Nikai, and the Propylaia from their inception. The present passage merely confirms an existing responsibility, and this circumstance is reflected in the phrase *κατὰ τὰ ἐφσεφί[σμένα]* in line 5.

This interpretation of the opening lines of the decree obviates the necessity which Wade-Gery felt (*J. H. S.*, LI [1931], p. 60) for understanding τὸς ἈθENAÍOS as the subject of χρῆσθαι in line 4, allows us to read *ἡ ἐκρόπολις* as subject for both [ὄρις]θεῖ and ἐπισκευα[σθεῖ] in line 7, permits the compound verb [χρουνε]πιστατόντ[ο]ν in line 8 because the regular epistatai of major works on the acropolis have already been mentioned in line 4, and does not compel the rather awkward identification of the epistatai in line 10 with the tamiai in line 8. As now restored, the decree (down to line 12) outlines two projects for work on the acropolis and in each case designates the responsible overseers. The connective καὶ in line 5 makes the transition from Project A to Project B.

Financial provision for the work was made only in the case of the second project, but the old project needed no new financial help from the demos. The overseers of the Parthenon, the Nikai, and the Propylaia were to carry on *κατὰ τὰ ἐφσεφί[σμένα]*. From the building records it is clear that the epistatai of the Parthenon and of the Propylaia received some (though not all) of their money from the treasurers of Athena (cf. *I. G.*, I², 339-353, 363-367). The ten talents now authorized for yearly expenditure on the acropolis were all to be paid from Athena's treasure. Lines 12-19 of this decree of Kallias merely provide restrictions on the use of Athena's money above a certain amount for purposes other than those which we have here called projects A and B on the acropolis (lines 2-12).⁵

Next in order on the stone comes the provision for what the hellenotamiai are to do, apparently, with their funds. These two lines (20-21) are crucial for any understanding of Athenian financial policy in the fifth century; they have been much discussed, and different interpretations have been offered for them. The best opinion has been that they provide for the creation of a reserve fund, distinct from the sacred treasure, from which

⁵ There is general agreement about the restoration and interpretation of lines 12-19.

the Athenian state could draw money without borrowing and without paying interest.⁹ The interpretation is essentially the same whether one reads in lines 20-21 τὰ ἡεκά[στοτε γινόμενα ----] or τὰ ἡεκά[στοτε πενίοντα ----], or even, as Kolbe suggests (*Sitzb. Ak. Berlin*, 1933, p. 164), τὰ ἡεκά[στο μινὸς προσδόντα ----]. Yet there are difficulties which have not escaped the attention of students of this document. Wade-Gery (*J. H. S.*, LIII [1933], p. 135) makes the very pertinent observation that it is extraordinary to find so important a change in Athenian financial policy stowed away thus inconspicuously. The rest of the decree has nothing whatsoever to do with a state treasure; it is concerned with operations on the acropolis that involve moneys of Athena, with the separation of Athena's money from that of the Other Gods in the Opisthodomos, and with the weighing and counting of Athena's treasures.

Wade-Gery has noted further the difficulty caused by the active verb κατατίθεναι for any hypothesis which assumes that the hellenotamiai, after depositing their money with Athena, were themselves to retain possession of it and control over it (*J. H. S.*, LIII [1933], p. 135). The natural mode of expression, with such meaning intended, requires a middle form κατατίθεσθαι or (better) παρακατατίθεσθαι. We have now to consider also the new restorations possible at the beginning of line 20. Our objections to the traditional [ἐκ | δὲ τῶν φόρο]ν, to Wade-Gery's [καὶ ἐς πόλιν]ιν and to Kolbe's [τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν have been indicated above (p. 264). It is, I believe, more than probable that these lines contain no general provision for establishing a state treasure at all, but that they refer closely to what follows in this same document.

If this is true, the accepted restoration and interpretation of these lines are quite erroneous, for they must deal with the repayment of money owed to the Other Gods. My suggestion is that they define the part to be played by Athena's treasurers in the ἀπόδοσις, and that they must be associated closely in reading and interpretation with lines 21-25. A possible restoration of the text, taking into account the letters [----]ιν in line 20, is as follows: [θε | οἷς δὲ πᾶσ]ιν κατατίθεναι κ[ατὰ τὸ]ν

⁹ Ferguson *Treasurers of Athens*, p. 155, and references there cited. A more complete bibliography will be found in Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, no. 51.

ἐνιαυτὸν τὰ ἑκά[στοι ὀφελό]μενα παρὰ τ]οῖς ταμίαι τῶν [τῆς
'Αθ]ῶναιας τὸς ἔλλενο[ταμίαι].

The hellenotamiai were to deposit during the course of the year the amounts due to each one of the gods with the treasurers of Athena.¹⁰

If I read his argument correctly, I believe that this interpretation was once considered by Wade-Gery and rejected by him because the repayment to the Other Gods was to be made by the prytanes and not by the hellenotamiai (*J. H. S.*, LI [1931], p. 72). It is quite true that the actual repayment was

¹⁰ It may be objected that [θε]οῖς δὲ πᾶσ]ιν implies repayments to Athena as well as to the Other Gods. This is not a serious matter. We know from the records of the logistai that Athena's debt (if any existed) was liquidated in 434/3, for the borrowings began afresh in 433/2. If no money was owed to Athena when Kallias' decree was passed, then [θε]οῖς δὲ πᾶσ]ιν does not, in point of fact, include Athena; if money was owed to Athena in 434/3, then there must have been some decision about repaying it. This ἀπόδοσις may well have been arranged in the decree (now lost) which is generally agreed to have preceded both preserved decrees of Kallias. Except by assuming such a decree, there is no explanation for lines 5-6 of Face A (ἀ ἐς ἀπόδοσιν ἐστὶν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐφ' ὅσῃσιν [ἐ]ν) if Face A technically precedes Face B, or for lines 22-23 of Face B (ἡ ἀ ἐς ἀπόδοσιν ἐφ' ὅσῃσιν ἡ [ο] δῆμος τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς) if Face B technically precedes Face A. Once granted that provision had been made for settling Athena's debt in a decree earlier than these two decrees of Kallias, then the words [θε]οῖς δὲ πᾶσ]ιν may with propriety include even Athena, or may (while not including Athena) emphasize the fact that moneys for all the gods (not Athena alone) were to be deposited by the hellenotamiai with the treasurers of Athena. It is not more difficult to interpret θεοῖς πᾶσιν of Face B as "all the Other Gods" than it is to interpret τοῖς θεοῖς as "the Other Gods," which is the meaning it obviously bears in Face A. Other possible restorations for lines 19-21 are [ἐς | δὲ ἀπόδοσ]ιν κατατιθέναι κ[ατὰ τὸ]ν ἐνιαυτὸν τὰ ἑκά[στοτε δεσθ]έντα παρὰ τ]οῖς ταμίαι τῶν [τῆς 'Αθ]ῶναιας τὸς ἔλλενο[ταμίαι], or perhaps [ἐς | δὲ ἀπόδοσ]ιν κατατιθέναι κ[ατὰ τὸ]ν ἐνιαυτὸν τὰ ἑκά[στοι θεοῖ] ὀφελό]μενα τ]οῖς ταμίαι τῶν [τῆς 'Αθ]ῶναιας τὸς ἔλλενο[ταμίαι]. Against the former may be urged the objection that the transition in thought is too abrupt from what precedes. This is or is not, depending upon our point of view, a serious contention. Against the latter is the omission of παρὰ with τοῖς ταμίαι. I find it hard to believe that κατατιθέναι τοῖς ταμίαι can mean anything but deposit with (and give possession to) the treasurers. But it is certain that the funds of the hellenotamiai in the years after 434 did not become sacred moneys. If they had, the whole history of borrowings between 433 and 422 would have been quite different (*I. G.*, I², 324).

to be made by the prytanes, but it is equally true that the money for the repayment was to be furnished by the hellenotamiai. This is, in effect, all that lines 19-20 say that they shall do; the words are [----] *κατατιθέναι* ----, not *ἀποδόναι*. The active voice in *κατατιθέναι* is now appropriate, for there is no question of continued control by the hellenotamiai over these deposited funds. Once given into the safekeeping of the treasurers of Athena, the funds passed forever from their possession.

The procedure for finding out what was owed to the other gods was long and tedious (*I. G.*, I², 91, lines 7-13), and might well be expected to continue through the year 434/3. Our new restoration of lines 19-20 implies that the hellenotamiai were to make deposits as required at intervals during the year. One of the arguments which Wade-Gery used in building up his case for a date of the decrees of Kallias later than 434 (though he now believes that 434 is the correct date) was that when these repayments were made there must have been treasurers of the Other Gods to receive them (*J. H. S.*, LI [1931], p. 65). Since the decree of Kallias on Face A (*I. G.*, I², 91) provides that the first board of treasurers of the Other Gods shall be selected at the time of the regular *ἀρχαιρσία* in the spring of 433, Wade-Gery found it difficult to explain what was done with sums ready for repayment before that time. The lines here under consideration supply the answer to that question. Whenever in the course of the year the amount of a debt was known, the money was deposited by the hellenotamiai in safe-keeping with the treasurers of Athena in the Opisthodomos. It was there that the moneys of the Other Gods were to be kept eventually anyway (Face A, line 15; Face B, line 25), and the treasurers of Athena merely provided a place of deposit until the new board of treasurers of the Other Gods could take over. The lines immediately following (21-25) provide that when the repayments have been made the moneys of Athena shall be kept on the right, those of the Other Gods on the left, in the Opisthodomos.

Whatever the formalities of the actual *ἀπόδοσις* by the prytanes in the presence of the Council, and of the erasure of the records of debt (Face A, lines 9-12), I believe that the restoration proposed above expresses correctly what actually happened to the money. The hellenotamiai were obliged to deposit the necessary sums with the treasurers of Athena. That the funds for repay-

ment were to come from them is known already from Face A, line 6.

Kolbe has rightly noted (*Sitzb. Ak. Berlin*, 1933, p. 160) that Face B deals with the treasure of Athena, while Face A deals with the treasure of the Other Gods. The provisions of Face B, lines 19-25, which make reference to the repayments to the Other Gods, find their place in the decree which regulates Athena's affairs because, and only because, Athena offered a temporary refuge for the moneys repaid (lines 19-21), and because some division of space was necessary in the Opisthodomos as soon as the new board should begin to function (lines 21-25).

The restoration proposed above for lines 19-21 of Face B makes this decree far less important for the financial history of Athens than has been generally supposed. The Athenians may have decided in 434 to build from the funds of the hellenotamiai a separate state treasure, but these lines can no longer be cited to prove it. Whatever the decision in 434, no accumulation of reserve was possible anyway until the end of the Archidamian war, when a reserve fund was in fact created (Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, p. 159). But even then, we cannot use the evidence of this decree that the reserve of public moneys was on deposit with Athena's treasurers.

I append here the text of the decree with the new restorations included.

I. G., I², 92 (Face B)

[*Ἐδοξεν τῷ βολεῖ καὶ τοῖ δέμοι· Κεκροπὶς ἐπρυτάνευε, Μνεσίθε]
 [ος ἐγραμμάτευε, Ε]ὕπ[ε]ίθες [ἐπεστάτε, Κ]αλλίας εἵπ[ε· ἐκποῶν τὰ ἓνα]
 [ιέτια τὰ λί]θινα καὶ Νί[κας τὰς χ]ρυσᾶς καὶ τὰ Προ[πύλαια· ἡόπο]
 [ς δ' ἂν ἐκποι]εθῇ παντελὸς [ἐπισκέφ]σει χρῆσθαι ἅπ[αντας τὸς ἐπι]
 [στατόντας] κατὰ τὰ ἐφσεφι[σμένα·] καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν [δρίξεν πλὴν]
 [ἔ μὲ τὰ ἔχσε]ργμένα καὶ ἐπι[σκευά]ζεν δέκα τάλαντα ἃ[ναλίσκοντα]
 [ς τὸ ἐνιαυτ]ὸ ἡεκάστο ἡέος [ἂν ὀρισ]θῇ καὶ ἐπισκευα[σθῇ ὃς κάλλ]
 [ιστα· χσυνε]πιστατόντ[ο]ν δ[ὲ τοῖ ἔρ]γ[ο]ι [ο]ι ταμίαι καὶ [ὁ ἀρχιτέκτο]
 [ν· τὸ δὲ γράμ]μα τὸν ἀρχιτέκ[τονα ποι]ῇν [ὃ]σπερ τὸμ Προ[πυλαίων· ἡοῦ]
 [τος δὲ ἐπιμ]ελέσ[θο] μετὰ τῷ[ν ἐπιστ]ατῶν ἡόπος ἄριστ[α καὶ ἀκριβέ]
 [στατα ὀρισθ]έσεται ἡε ἀκρ[όπολις] καὶ ἐπισκευασθ[έ]σεται τὰ δεό[ν]
 [μενα· τοῖς δ]ἔ ἄλλοις χρέμα[σιν τοῖς] τῆς Ἀθηναίας το[ῖς τε νῦν ὄσιν]
 [ν ἐμ πόλει κ]αὶ ἡάττ' ἂν τ[ὸ] λο[γιστὸν ἂν]αφέρεται μὲ χρῆσθ[ῃ] α[ἰ] μεδὲ ἅπα]

- [ναλίσκεν ἀ]π' αὐτῶν ἐ[ς] ἄλλα μ[εδὲν ἐ] ἐς ταῦτα ἡνπὲρ μυ[ρ]ί[ας δραχμὰ]
- 15 [ς ἐ ἐς ἐπισκ]ενὲν ἑάν τι δέε[ι· ἐς ἄλλ]ο δὲ μεδὲν χρῆσ[θ]α[ι τοῖς χρήμα]
- [σιν ἐὰμ μὲ τ]ὲν ἄδειαν φσεφ[ίττει] ὁ δῆμος καθάπερ ἐ[ὰμ φσεφίστει]
- [αι περὶ ἐσφ]ορᾶς· ἂν δέ τις [εἴπει ἐ] ἐπιφσεφί[σ]ει μὲ ἐ[φσεφισμένε]
- [ς πο τῆς ἀδεί]ας χρῆσθαι το[ῖς χρήμ]α[ιν τοῖς] τῆς Ἀθε[ναίας ἐνεχέ]
- [σθο τοῖς α]ὐτοῖς ἡοῖσπερ ἐά[ν τις ἐσ]φῆρεν εἴπει ἐ ἐπιφ[σεφίσσει· θε]
- 20 [οῖς δὲ πᾶσ]ιν κατατιθέναι κ[ατὰ τὸ]ν ἑνιαυτὸν τὰ ἡεκά[στοι ὀφελό]
- [μένα παρὰ τ]οῖς ταμίαισι τῶν [τῆς Ἀθ]ῆναιας τὸς ἔλλενο[ταμίαις· ἐπε]
- [ιδὲν δ' ἀπὸ] τ[ὸ]ν διακοσίον τα[λάντων]ν ἡὰ ἐς ἀπόδοσιν ἐφ[σεφίστατο ἡ]
- [ο δῆμος τοῖς] ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἀ[ποδοθ]εῖ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα τα[μενέσθο τ]
- [ὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀθ]ῆναιας χρήματα [ἐν τῷ] ἐπὶ δεχσιὰ τῷ Ὀπισ[θοδόμο, τὰ δ]
- 25 [ἐ τῶν ἄλλον θ]εῶν ἐν τῷ ἐπ' ἀρ[ιστερ]ῷ.
- [ἡσπόσα δὲ τῶ]ν χρημάτων τῶν [ἡιερό]ν ἄστατά ἐστιν ἐ ἀν[αρίθμετα ἡ]
- [οι ταμίαι] ἡ[ο]ι νῦν μετὰ τῶν τε[ττάρων] ἀρχῶν καὶ ἐδίδο[σαν τὸν λόγ]
- [ον τὸν ἐκ Πα]ναθηναίων ἐς Παν[αθήνα]ια ἡσπόσα μὲν χρυ[σᾶ ἐστιν αὐ]
- [τῶν ἐ ἀργυρᾶ] ἐ ὑπάργυρα στε[σέντον, τὰ δ] ἐ ἄλλ[α ἀριθμεσάντον ...]
- 30 -----

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REPORTS.

GLOTTA, XXII (1933), 1-2.

Pp. 1-27. W. Kroll, Die Entwicklung der lateinischen Schriftsprache, seeks to draw a picture of the older Latin and of its differences from the classical form as standardized notably by Cicero. This older Latin was characterized by unstable orthography; by variety of inflectional forms of the same function and of derivative words of the same meaning; by syntactical anacolutha, case-attractions, parataxis (instead of hypotaxis); by rarity of sentence connectives, the use of the pronoun *is* and its forms where they were not needed, unskillful placing of subordinate clauses; by a certain confusion between adjectives and adverbs in syntactical use; by the free employment of rare and foreign words (where purism later prevailed); by discrepancies in agreements (i. e., *constructiones ad sensum*); by use of active as well as of passive forms of the "deponent" verbs; by use or omission of prepositions in the same case-construction; etc. Cicero built up the standard of use, eliminating alternatives and introducing logical forms of expression. The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (which Kroll definitely pronounces to be the work of Cornificius) shows some peculiarities of the earlier Latin, but these have been magnified by modern scholars.

Pp. 27-31. J. Whatmough, The Raeti and their Language, opposes Thurneysen's view (*Glotta* XXI, 1 ff.) that the Raetian letter like B with three pointed loops is to be read z, which gives a word zinace in Raetian as well as in Etruscan; the sign is rather for þ. Raetian is closer to Indo-European than is generally supposed, though it shows Etr. influence. The inscription on the "paletta di Padova" (a small fire-shovel or paddle) is thus interpreted:

etsua leutiku kaian nakina tarisakvil "hanc publicam caiam (or hoc publicum vatillum) (dedit) Nacina Tarisaquil." Whatmough rejects Kretschmer's view (*Symbola Danielsson dicata*, 134 ff.) that the Raetian words in -ke and -xe in the inscc. of Magrè are all verbs; some are more easily taken as personal names.

Pp. 31-42. Karl Karényi, Pannonia, interprets as 'Pan's Land', finding a root *pā-n-eu- 'swell, be full' in Πάν 'god Pan', πᾶς 'all', Πηνειός 'river Peneus', Latin *pānis* 'raised bread' (borrowed from an Illyrian source by the Latins), etc., etc. Cf. also Hesych. Πανία as an old name of the Peloponnesus.

Pp. 42-46. P. Wahrmann, *Καμβαβάριοι, ἀσκοπιῶται*, new words in the inscriptions of Ephesus. The first is from *κάμβαβος* 'hemp', = Latin *stupparius* (*C. G. L.*, II, 338); the second names the *utricularii*, contractors who rented out skins for the transport of wine and oil.

Pp. 46-100. E. Loecker, Die Bildung der griechischen Kurz- und Kosenamen (continued from XXI, 136-152). When no formative element is added to the shortened name, the final vowel is often changed to *ō* (fem. *ā*) or *ī*. The formative elements are then treated, each with a chronological list of occurrences and a discussion of its origin, function, and history: *-ískos*; *-ichos*, *-achos*; *λ*-suffixes, *-úlos*, *-ullōs*, *-ílos*, *-illo*s, *-alo-* and its extensions; oxytones in *-id-*; *-ion*; *-īnos*, *-īnos*, *-inas*, *-ínēs*, *-ínēs*, *-inna*, *-ínē*, *-ínā*; *-ónē*, *-ónēs*; *-éas*; barytones in *-is*; *-us*; *-as*, *-ās*; *κ*-suffixes, of which there is a great variety; and those containing labial stops.

Pp. 100-122. P. Kretschmer, Nordische Lehnwörter im Altgriechischen, maintains that Greek *πύργος* and *Πέργαμος* came into Greek through Macedonian from a Germanic language, cf. Burg and Berg (whose variant vocalism is derived from vowel variations in the paradigm); the word meant 'stronghold, place of refuge', like *pélus* (Vedic *pūr*), O. Ir. *dūn*, Lat. *arx*, etc. *Πύργος* replaced older Greek *τύρσις* (taken from a pre-Greek Mediterranean language), and sets the first sound-shift of Germanic before 1000 B. C. Other words which may have come by the same route are *κο(μ)μάρα* (Hesych.) 'lobster', also *κῦμαρος* and *κάμμαρος* (Athen., VII, 306), cf. O. Norse *humarr*, German *Hummer*; Maced. *ἀλιζα*, Gmc. *Aliso*, OHG *elira*; Att. *πύνδαξ* (= *πυθμήν*); and probably *ἵππος*, whose first vowel and rough breathing are unexplainable in Greek.

Pp. 122-127. H. Krahe, Illyrisches (cf. XX, 188 ff.): (4) Zum Wandel *ē* > *ā* in Eleischen: The same change is found in Illyrian names, and traces are found in Messapian; Illyrian influence in Elis is found in the personal name *Τεντιάπλος* (Thuc., III, 29, 2), and in the Elean official title *ἀλύτας*, which came from Dodona. Further, the Mess. gen. *-āos* and the Elean gen. *-āos* (*ιαρᾶος*) may both come from *-ēuos*. (5) Illyr. *barb-* und *bard-*: The name *Scenobarbus* is Latinized from *Σκενόβαρδος* (found in Dio Cass. LV, 33, 8), and contains the element meaning 'beard'; similarly *Barbaruta* (*C. I. L.*, V, 5033) is a masc. cognomen, 'Redbearl'. Thus the Illyr. word *bard-* 'beard' is found, to be kept distinct from Illyr. *bard-* 'swamp' in *Barbanna* (river in Illyricum) and *Metubarbis* (an island in the Save).

Pp. 128-135. G. Hatzidakis, Miscellen zur griech. Grammatik. (1) Die Aoriste auf *-σα*, instead of *-ησα*, in Mod. Greek, are due to the analogy of other aorists of verbs of similar or opposite meanings, where the short vowel was historically correct. (2) Bedeutungsentwicklung einiger Verben: *βρομῇ* 'stinkt', changed from 'brummt', by association with *πέρδετα*. Mod. *γέρνω* 'neige, sinke': from Anc. *ἐγείρω* 'erhebe', because when

one part of an object is lifted the other goes down (cf. scale-pans). Mod. *ἐμπορῶ* 'can' is from *εὐπορος*: *εὐπορῶ*, modern pron. *ἐπορῶ*, remodeled after *ἐμπορος*. *Βαρῶ* 'schlage', from 'erschwere, belaste', because of *βαρεά* 'Hammer', from *ἡ βαρεία*, sc. *σφύρα*. (3) Verba, die von Nomina auf -μα gebildet sind, never take the form -μέω; therefore *βρομεῖ* 'stinkt' is from *ὁ βρόμος* and not from *τὸ βρώμα*. (4) The name Morea for the Peloponnesus is from *ἡ μορέα* 'mulberry tree', not from a hypothetical pre-Homeric Phoenician colony, which called the land *ἡ Μώρα*, ethnic *ὁ Μωρεός*, whence modern *ὁ Μωρεάς*; for apart from the hypothetical character of the colony, such ethnics do not develop into geographical names. (5) *Στήμα* — *στάμα* — *στέμα* are all from the root of *ἵστημι*; *στήμα* is old, *στάμα* is recent and means 'point', *στέμα* is recent and means 'instant'. The vowels of the last two are analogical to various forms of the verb.

Pp. 135-140. V. Pisani, Die oskische Inschrift Conway 132 (v. Planta 164), takes the object as a form for cutting dough into cakes, and reads: *pupu fri* pukelled ehad 'Koch, backe mit dieser Form'. *Pupu* = Lat. *coque*, with change of the second vowel as of the first. *Fri* = Lat. *frige*, with loss of final vowel, as in *dīc*, *dūc*, etc. Pukelled, abl. in *-hād* or *-hīād*, dimin. to stem in Lat. *bicarium*, one modern representative of which is Ital. *pécchero*, showing variation in the initial consonant (prob. from a pre-Italic Medit. language). *Ehad* = Lat. *eā(d)*, with *h* to mark hiatus.

Pp. 140-152. St. Weinstock, *Tellus*, considers the older etymologies dubious and seeks the meaning in religious observances of the *Tellus* cult: *feriae sementivae*, *Fordicidia*, offering of the *porca praecidaneae*. Varro (ap. Aug., *de Civ. Dei* VII, 23) associates *Tellus* and *Tellumo* (her masc. counterpart) with *Altor* and *Rusor*; *Altor* is obviously the nourisher of all things born; *Rusor* is obscure, but most probably **revorsor*, related to *verto*, as a helping god at the new upturning of the earth. (To be continued)

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REVIEWS.

AURELIO ESPINOSA PÓLIT. S. J. Virgilio el Poeta y su Mision Providencial. Prólogo del Dr. Remigio Crespo Toral. Quito, Editorial Ecuatoriana, 1932. Pp. xlviii, 546.

Ecuador is in a blaze of literary Renaissance. History, medicine, sculpture, poetry, the novel, are represented by excellent books, printed and published in Ecuador itself. Nor are the classics forgotten. In 1921 a group of Latinists brought out a volume for the anniversary, "A Virgilio. Estudios Virgilianos," and this is now followed by Pólit's study of one aspect of Virgil. The prologue, by Crespo Toral, calls attention to the reestablishment of chairs of Greek and Latin in the University of Quito, abolished in a recent revolution.

Espinosa Pólit, a young Jesuit scholar, began a critical study of Virgil's originality, but it developed into what to him is triumphant proof of Virgil's providential mission as precursor of Christianity. He admits lack of originality in this thesis, but feels that he has made a contribution in the fulness and harmony of the data assembled. He has an astounding acquaintance with recent writing on Virgil, and refers to, or quotes, Rand, Whicher, Tenney Frank, Diane Stuart, Paribeni, Carcopino, Jeanmaire, Hubaux, Conway, Fowler, Heinze and a host of other scholars. His style is graceful, and whatever one thinks of his argument, any lover of Virgil who reads Spanish will find Pólit's chapters full of understanding and charm.

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PIERRE CHANTRAINE. La formation des noms en grec ancien (= Collection linguistique publiée par la Société de Linguistique de Paris, xxviii). Champion, Paris, 1933. xxvii + 473 pp. 125 francs.

Beyond doubt this volume is destined to be the standard work upon its theme, and in general linguistic interest it even exceeds that of its author's *Histoire du parfait grec* (Paris, 1927 = vol. xxi of the same series). It consists of forty-three chapters which omit no noun-formation of consequence (it is not serious that the type of $\gamma\epsilon\acute{\nu}\eta\theta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ seems not to be noted), not only dealing exhaustively with formation proper, but also treating of semantic classifications (e.g. for masculines in $-\bar{\alpha}$, religious, poetic, and technical compounds, as well as hypocoristics and popular words

in -ās, pp. 26-32), of semantic development (e. g. the diminutive force of -ιον, pp. 64-68), and of the special force of morphemes (e. g. -μη, pp. 149-150). Homeric and Classical Greek naturally receive the fullest consideration, but the dialects, the Κοινή, and the papyri likewise have due attention, and brief reference is made, wherever relevant, to old survivals in Modern Greek. On the other hand, there are only occasional allusions to Mediaeval (Byzantine) Greek, though abundant material for this period is contained in S. B. Psaltes's *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken* (Göttingen, 1913). The list of such correspondences seems worth noting: -ιος (Chantraine, p. 38 : Psaltes, pp. 288-289), -ειος (53 : 289; three instances), -τήριον (64 : 282), -ίδιον (71 : 276), -άδιον (72 : 277), -άκιον (73, 380 : 277-278), -άριον (74 : 278; largely < Latin -arius), -ία (83 : 260-262), -σία (86, 289 : 263-265), -εια (88 : 262; rather rare), -εία (90 : 263), -οια (91 : 263; five instances), -έα (92 : 267-268; sometimes < Lat. -ea), -αινα (109 : 269; rare), -ωσα (110 : 268-269), -εύς (131 : 254; only ἀπομονεύς), -μος (136 : 257-258), -μιος, -σιμος (157 : 297), -ών (165 : 255; six instances), -μα (190 : 284-286), -εινός (196 : 296; two instances), -ινός (201 : 295-296), -ινος (203 : 294-295), -ίνα (205 : 269; two instances), -ίνος (206 : 296; mostly < Lat. -inus), -ηρός (206 : 296-297; only proper names), -σύνη (213 : 267; very rare), -ερός, -ηρός (230 : 301), -σία (289 : 264-265), -ότης (298 : 266-267), -ωτός (305 : 300-301), -τός (307 : 299-300), -της (320 : 249-252), -(σ)τρον (332 : 282; five instances), -ίς (348 : 268), -ικός (396 : 289-294), -ίσκος (412 : 257; two instances), -ώδης (432 : 301; very rare).

One might wish that M. Chantraine had given more attention to accent, particularly where Vedic shows similar phenomena; but he has thus noted only the -o-stems accented on the base to express action, and on the morpheme to express agent (e. g. τόμος 'cut' : τομός 'cutting' :: Vedic káma- 'love' : kāmā- 'loving'; pp. 7-8, cf. B. Lindner, *Altindische Nominalbildung*, Jena, 1878, pp. 29-30). He observes (p. 18) that the reverse holds in Greek for -ā-stems (e. g. πάθη 'suffering' : βολή 'act of hurling'), but it is equally true of Vedic (e. g. irā 'draught' : jarā 'act of growing old'; Lindner, pp. 151-152); and accent-variations are also found both in Greek and Vedic for stems in -u- (e. g. γένος = Ved. hānus 'jaw' : λιγνός 'smoking fire', cf. Ved. nrtú- 'dancer'; Lindner, pp. 61-64), -mo- (e. g. δημός 'territory' : διωγμός 'chase' :: Ved. yákṣma- 'disease' : cjinā- 'running'; Lindner, pp. 90-91), -mē/ōn- (e. g. ἀλήμων 'wan-dering' : ἡγεμών 'leader' :: Ved. bhāstman- 'chewing' : dāman- 'giver'; Lindner, p. 93), -no- (e. g. αἶνος 'tale' : καπνός 'smoke' :: Ved. svāpna- 'sleep' : stenā- 'thief'; Lindner, p. 86), -ro- (e. g. σαῦρος 'lizard' : νεβρός 'fawn' :: Ved. vājra- 'thunderbolt' : usrá- 'bull'; Lindner, pp. 100-102; the anti-

thesis in accent between, e. g., Greek ἀγρός and Ved. ágra- 'field' may imply a difference of underlying concept). This whole subject seems to merit further investigation.

It would also have been well to have accented the Vedic words throughout; as it is, the accentuation is marked only sporadically (for *kustāh*, p. 275, read *kūstāh*; for *lōpācah*, p. 376, read *lōpācāh*; for *uśā*, p. 422, read *uśāh*).

A few minor additions and corrections may likewise be noted. There seems to be no way of determining whether Boeotian and certain other North-West dialects had *ā* or *ǎ* in the nominative (p. 26): Thessalian *πυθιονικς*, *αλυμπιονικς*, Acarnanian *ιππονικς* (SGDI N 791 b⁹⁻¹⁰, 1400²) — the clearest examples — are ambiguous; and Homeric nominatives of this type (e. g. *κυανοχαίτα*, N 563, Ξ 390) show *-ǎ* (the true explanation seems given by H. Hirt, *Handbuch der griechischen Laut- und Formenlehre*², Heidelberg, 1912, p. 340 [alternation of Indo-European *a* and *ǎ*]; for the Homeric material see G. Vogrinz, *Grammatik des homerischen Dialektes*, Paderborn, 1889, pp. 59-60). The formations in *-ēios* (pp. 39-40) apparently find parallels in Celtic (e. g. Old Irish *humaipe* 'made of copper': *humae* 'copper' < **omiiō-dio*-; cf. H. Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, Göttingen, 1909-13, ii, 28) and Baltic (e. g. Lithuanian *gaidys* 'cock' < **gai-dio*-; cf. Brugmann, i, 177; II, iii, 379). To the rare formations in *-ēios* (p. 42) may be added Corcyran *σιτηρεσιον*, found five times in SGDI 3206; to those in *-eos* (p. 51), Cretan *κοτιλεα* (ib. 3637²⁵, 3638¹² = Schwyzer 251 B, C); *-ασσα* occurs in Cretan *ηρωασσα* (SGDI 4952a³³ = Schwyzer 193) beside Cnidian *ηρωισσα* (Schwyzer 266; cf. Chantraine, p. 110); to the forms in *-cos* (p. 123) one may add Cyprian *αλρον* (SGDI 60^{7, 18, 21} = Schwyzer 679; for conjectures as to the etymology see H. F. Standerwick, *Etymological Studies in the Greek Dialect-Inscriptions*, Baltimore, 1932, pp. 64-65); to those in *-ono-* (pp. 206-207), the masculine *τορονος* *τόρονος*. *Ταραντίνοι* (Hesychios) to those in *-όλης* (p. 237), Corinthian *τριγόλας* (Sophron, 50); to the compound suffixes in *-li-* (pp. 253 sqq.), the types of *θευέλιος*, *θέμειλον*, Homeric *θεμέλια*, Cretan *θεμυλιον* (SGDI 5045³; cf. W. Schulze, *Quaestiones epicae*, Gütersloh, 1892, p. 224; for Middle Greek morphemes in *-άλιον*, *-ήλιον* see Psaltes, pp. 279-280, 231); the relation of the difficult Delphic *τρικτηνα* (SGDI 2501³⁴ = Schwyzer 325) to Corinthian *τρικτης* might have been considered; to the formations in *-eros* (pp. 299-300) might be added Cretan *βιετος* (SGDI 5084¹⁰); and beside *ἀροτρον* (p. 331) one finds Gortynian *αρατρον* (ib. 4992 A, II⁵ = Schwyzer 180).

The reviewer desires to state explicitly that these suggested corrections and additions are to be construed only as favourable and constructive criticism of a volume of which he entertains the highest opinion.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

HERBERT NESSELHAUF. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der delisch-attischen Symmachie. *Klio*, Beiheft XXX (1933). Pp. vii + 144.

This volume contains four chapters: (I) Von der Symmachie zur ἀρχή [1-35]; (II) Die Blütezeit der athenischen ἀρχή [35-69]; (III) Die ersten Kriegsjahre [69-94]; and (IV) Die Phorosveränderungen von 454-431 [95-120]. Following these is an appendix on the colonies and cleruchies of the years 448-446 [120-140], and finally an addendum [140-141] in which the author takes cognizance of Meritt's *Athenian Financial Documents*, which was not available to him before his book went to the printer. The use of the volume is facilitated by an index and a list of the inscriptions cited.

Nesselhauf begins with a consideration of the extent of the Athenian empire in 454. He argues that the transformation from league to empire had been in large part achieved, and that the furnishing of ships had already been commuted to payment of tribute (except for Samos, Lesbos, and Chios) at least as early as this date [p. 4]. This view differs from that offered by West (*Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXXV [1930], 267 ff.), who has argued that some of the islands, at least, were still furnishing ships after 454.

With sound historical judgment, Nesselhauf connects the removal of the treasury of the empire from Delos to Athens in 454 with the Egyptian disaster, which he dates in 455/4. He also shows that Myronides' expedition to Thessaly and Perikles' expedition to Acarnania both belong in the year 455/4 (Thuc. I, 111), and that their return home without success was made necessary by news of the catastrophe in Egypt. It is a very happy combination to associate the treaty between Athens and Phokis (*I. G.*, I², 26) and the oaths taken in the archonship of Ariston (454/3) with the campaign of Myronides [p. 8]. Nesselhauf explains the absence of tribute payments by many of the islands in the years immediately following 454 as a consequence of the loss of Athenian naval power when the fleet was destroyed in Egypt.

In his discussion of the tribute payments of the second assessment period, Nesselhauf demonstrates that *I. G.*, I², 196 and 198 (upper part) can be made to correspond not only in names, but also in amounts of recorded tithe. His suggested restorations [p. 18] of [HH^ΠΔΔΔΓ] + + + || Τερέδιοι in 196 and [H]H^ΠΔΔΔ Τερέδ[ω]ι Γ[+ + + ||] in 198 seem to the present reviewer possible, with considerable crowding in 196; and ^ΠΔ Δαμ[φσακενοί ΔΔΓ + ||||] in line 59 of 198 is certainly possible if it be assumed that the numeral ran over into the end of line 60. The conclusion which Nesselhauf draws: that the delayed partial payments

of 198 belong only to original partial payments of 198 is attractive, but a skeptic will still doubt whether the absence of some such phrase as *περυσινού φόρου* with such late partial payments is proof that they did not belong to an earlier year; and it is perhaps legitimate to suggest that the *ὀφειλήματα ἐν τῇσι στήλαισι* of the Methone decree (*I. G.*, I², 57) may be something other than arrears in tribute. Nesselhauf's case is a good one, except that certain partial payments in 196 (as, e. g., for Torone) combine very well with late partial payments in 198, and that the stone is so preserved before *Σύγγροι* in 196 as to show that the quota from 198 cannot be restored there. One error of detail should be noted about the quota of Dikaia in *I. G.*, I², 195. Nesselhauf claims that the restoration [Ξ] in *S. E. G.*, V [5, III, 10] is arbitrary, and suggests [HHHE] instead. This is impossible, and the reason why it is impossible is given in *S. E. G.*, V in the commentary on this line.

In even more convincing fashion, Nesselhauf associates the increased number of cities paying tribute in 450/49 with the renewal of war against Persia and Kimon's expedition, which left Athens before the end of the year 451/0 [pp. 24-25]. The presence of Kimon near the Caric coast explains the payments by Caric cities at the very end of *I. G.*, I², 194. Finally, the Peace with Persia, and the fact that by virtue of the peace the principal reason for the existence of the Delian Confederacy was removed, explain the absence of late partial payments in *I. G.*, I², 196 and the extraordinarily short list *I. G.*, I², 197. By reference to the quota lists, Nesselhauf dates the Peace after the Dionysia of 448, though still in the course of the same summer [p. 28]. The main thesis, that there is a direct connection between the Peace and the poor collection of tribute in 448, seems unmistakably sound; but the inscriptions cited, notably *I. G.*, I², 196, 197, and 198, seem to the present writer still so much in need of study that it is hazardous to claim from them now certain proof of the exact date of the Peace or even a certain reflection of the exact consequences of the Peace. Nesselhauf justly claims that the resumption of tribute payments after this temporary lapse marks the turn from League to Empire, and he notes the importance of the colonies and cleruchies established by Perikles for consolidating this empire. The appendix [pp. 120-140] which deals with the colonies and cleruchies justifies the historical significance given to them in the present chapter.

In his second chapter, Nesselhauf analyzes the quota lists of the third assessment period (446/5-444/3), and shows that the division of the empire into five geographical districts was already effected in 446. The reorganization of 443, which is reflected in the quota lists, still remains an important fact, however, in the

consolidation of the empire. That its fundamental importance is not so great as has been generally thought Nesselhauf rightly emphasizes [pp. 39-41].

In the discussion of the fourth assessment period there is a good explanation of the troublesome *ἐπιφορά*: a penalty or increment exacted for delayed payments. The *ἐπιφορά* does not appear first with the beginning of an assessment period (*I. G.*, I², 205 instead of *I. G.*, I², 202), but Nesselhauf is probably wrong in saying that it has nothing to do with the assessments [pp. 52, 73]. He points out an error made by West and Meritt (cf. *S. E. G.*, V, p. 24), when he shows that *ἐπιφορά* may be collected in one year and not in the next without assuming that an assessment intervened. In individual cases this may be true, but when all payments of *ἐπιφορά* ceased, there is a logical presumption that the system of tribute collection on which the *ἐπιφορά* depended had been changed and that the authorization for this change was made at the time of a general assessment. There are no recorded instances of payment of *ἐπιφορά* in the assessment period to which *I. G.*, I², 218 and 216 belong [cf. Meritt, *Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 9], and it seems to the present reviewer still, in spite of Nesselhauf's argument [p. 52], a legitimate conclusion that no *ἐπιφορά* was expected, or at least that it was not so listed on the quota lists even if collected. The one item *ἔves ἐπιφορᾶς* in *I. G.*, I², 218 shows that *ἐπιφορά* was expected in the preceding assessment period and that *I. G.*, I², 218 itself belongs in the first year of a new period.

Nesselhauf proposes [p. 53] in *I. G.*, I², 207 and 209 Ionic lists longer by five names, and Hellespontine lists shorter by five names, than those shown in *S. E. G.*, V. It is possible that he is right, but the exact length of the lists must remain very much a matter of conjecture. Almost nothing is preserved on the stone [West and Meritt will publish soon one small fragment], and there is no certainty about the number of cities in either panel that paid *ἐπιφορά* in any given year.

In dealing with the quota lists at the beginning of the Archidamian war Nesselhauf enters a highly controversial field. He argues for general assessments in 435, 431, and 428. Shortly before the appearance of Nesselhauf's treatise Meritt's *Ath. Fin. Doc.* appeared with a statement of the case for 428. Nesselhauf reached the same conclusion independently [p. 140]. His claims for 435 and 431, however, are not well founded. To come to the heart of the matter, we have [p. 69] Nesselhauf's statement "Für eine Schätzung ist jedenfalls die Zahlung der ὀθόριοι ἀτακτοὶ das einzig sichere Indiz; sie ist somit 435 anzusetzen." It is clear from the quota lists that in 436/5 the name ὀθόριοι was listed without the modifier ἀτακτοὶ, and that in 435/4 the name appears with the modifier ἀ[τακτοὶ]. The restoration is

certain. Nesselhauf's argument is that, since the Othoroi were regularly assessed in 436/5 and not regularly assessed in 435/4, we must assume that the name was dropped from the assessment roll at the time of a general reassessment, which is thus datable by the evidence in 435. The fallacy lies in the assumption that the Othoroi were regularly assessed in 436/5 because they were not listed as *ἀτακτοι*. They may perfectly well have been *ἀτακτοι* in fact, even though not so recorded on the quota list. One must always remember that the important elements of the record were the name of the city making payment and the amount of the quota; a scribe might or might not indicate whether the payment was made according to an assessment or without assessment. This change from *Ὀθόριοι* to *Ὀθόριοι ἀτακτοι* offers not the slightest evidence for an assessment in 435; but other considerations point preponderantly to 434. Nesselhauf makes little of the fact that the tribute of Spartolos was increased in 434/3 from 2 talents to 3½ talents. This is important, for it was one of the motivating factors in the revolt of Bottice, Chalcidice, and Potidaea in 432. Still more important was the increase in tribute for Potidaea from 6 talents to 15 talents between 435/4 and 433/2. This Nesselhauf does not mention, and it is a damaging omission. The change in assessment came obviously in 434 at the same time with the change for Spartolos, and certainly had a direct bearing on the revolt two years later.

Nesselhauf further argues for an assessment in 435 by his interpretation of the special rubrics *πόλεις αὐταὶ φόρον ταχσάμεναι* and *πόλεις ἡδὲ οἱ ἰδῶται ἐνέμαρσαν φόρον φέρεν*, which first appear in 434/3. But his interpretation cannot be accepted. The former of these rubrics received a full discussion by E. B. Couch in *A. J. A.*, XXXIII (1929), 502-514, and the demonstration was made by her that there could be no question of privilege implied by the heading *πόλεις αὐταὶ ταχσάμεναι*. Yet Nesselhauf writes [p. 56] "Wir werden sehen, dass es sich um freiwillige Verpflichtungen zur Zahlung handelt." It is indeed hard to reconcile the granting of special privilege in 434 with revolt in 432, as must be done if Nesselhauf's interpretation is right. But Nesselhauf does not know Couch's article. The rubric reflects attempts at *ἀπόταξις* on the part of Athens, and may be translated "cities that accepted separate assessments of tribute." Many of them were Bottice and Chalcidic towns, now separated in tribute assessment from Spartolos and Olynthos; they accepted the separate assessments because they were compelled to do so, not because of any initiative on their part; they chafed under the burden; and those who were able revolted from Athens along with Spartolos, Olynthos, and Potidaea. The appearance of these rubrics in 434/3, which proves the changed status of many tributary states from their former category of *ἀτακτοι*, is

in reality a powerful argument in favor of reassessment in 434, not in 435.

Since much of Nesselhauf's argument about the second rubric πόλεις ἡς οἱ ἰδιοὶ ἐνέγραψαν φόρον φέρειν depends on his interpretation of the first, his entire hypothesis is vitiated and cannot be used to prove anything about assessments in 435 and 431. The present reviewer believes that the assessment dates 434 and 430 may still be considered correct, that there is definite proof for the former and a very strong case for the latter (*I. G.*, I², 218 and 216 in 430/29 and 429/8 respectively). The criticisms of Couch's explanation of αὐταὶ ταχσάμεναι made by Gomme in *Cl. Rev.*, XLVII (1933), 132 and Lenschau in *Jahresb. ü. d. Fortschritte d. kl. Altertumswissenschaft*, 240 (1934), 52-53 do not go to the heart of the matter and becloud the issue.

In view of these circumstances it seems necessary to call attention to the unjustifiable nature of much of the argument in Nesselhauf's addendum [pp. 140-141]. The validity of the secretary cycle of the ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ is underrated; it extended not merely from 434/3 to 430/29, but began at least as early as 439/3, probably in 443/2. Nor can the cycle for secretaries of the hellenotamiai be dismissed as pure hypothesis and nothing more. The completion of the normal cycle makes impossible a date for *I. G.*, I², 216 in 430/29, which Nesselhauf proposes. The special rubrics of *I. G.*, I², 218 do not depend on Meritt's restorations, as Nesselhauf implies. The difficult restorations are in *I. G.*, I², 216; but the difficulties are not solved by Nesselhauf's suggestions which involve the erroneous interpretations indicated above. It is possibly true that *I. G.*, I², 214 does not belong in 428/7; but it is extraordinary to think of Athens leaving the Aktaian cities without assessment from the time of their capture in 427 to 425, which is what Nesselhauf claims. Nor can Nesselhauf legitimately disregard the evidence for assessments which Meritt adduces from the tribute-collecting expeditions of 430, 428, and 425/4. To say that Melesander's expedition in early winter of 430 was connected with the tribute assessment of 431 is to allow twelve months too many to intervene before the expedition set forth. The assessment is better dated in 430, with the departure of the expedition soon after.

In Nesselhauf's third chapter the discussion of the special rubrics is continued with reference to *I. G.*, I², 216 and 218, but still with the assumption that the πόλεις αὐταὶ ταχσάμεναι were cities not assessed by Athens [p. 71]. The whole problem needs further study in the light of a fresh interpretation of *I. G.*, I², 63 [cf. Meritt and West, *The Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C.* (1934)]. The restoration χίλιοι in *I. G.*, I², 63, line 58 is surely wrong, but in spite of this Nesselhauf's interpretation of the general procedure of assessment [p. 72, note 1] is probably cor-

rect. The tribute of Notion in the year of *I. G.*, I², 214/5 was not 200 Dr. [p. 75], but 100 Dr. [cf. also Meritt and West, *op. cit.*, p. 72]. Nesselhauf may, however, be right in rejecting the quota [Γ+]|||| for Anaphe and suggesting [ΔΓ+]|||| instead. If so, we should also read [ΔΓ+||]|| for Myndos [*S. E. G.*, V, 29]. Nesselhauf assumes as possible the addition of one or two names to the Thracian list in *I. G.*, I², 212 [p. 57, note 1; p. 98]. As a matter of fact the fragments of this inscription are all definitely placed [*A. J. A.*, XXXIII (1929), 382], and the length of the list is correct as given in *S. E. G.*, V, 22. On the other hand, Nesselhauf is undoubtedly right in suggesting [p. 69, note 2] that the restoration now given in *S. E. G.*, V [28, I, 19] as [Πιρρα]ιοι should be changed to [Ἐρυθρα]ιοι.

In arguing for the dates of *I. G.*, I², 216 and 218 Nesselhauf uses also the evidence of the Methone decree (*I. G.*, I², 57) and calls attention to the fact that mention of *hoi σπαριῶται hoι ἐμ Πουδαίου* does not preclude a date before the capture of Potidaea. His reasoning here is eminently sound [p. 83, note 1], but the date 430/29 is still available for the Methone decree, and to the present reviewer the discussion of the tribute in the decree indicates that it belongs in the year of a general assessment. Nesselhauf denies this categorically [p. 82], but he assumes that in a year of general assessment the *demos* would not be called upon to decide whether a city should pay tribute or not. Surely the *demos* could vote on a question of privilege in tribute assessment in any year it so chose, and of all years the question was most apt to arise in an assessment year. Nesselhauf makes a strong argument also from the phrase *τοῖς προτέροις Παναθηναίοις*, when previously tribute had been assessed on Methone. He urges that this cannot have been the Great Panathenaia, because the word *μεγάλοις* is omitted. But the objection is groundless (e. g., *I. G.*, I², 324 *passim*); since we are dealing with a year of tribute assessment it is merely a question of choosing between 434 and 430, and both were Panathenaic years.

In Nesselhauf's fourth chapter on the changes in tribute from 454 to 431 the attempt is made to determine the approximate amounts of tribute in the various assessment periods, particularly I, IV, and VI. The conclusion is [p. 108] that the tribute from 454 to 451 amounted to *ca.* 487 talents, from 443 to 439 to *ca.* 398 talents, and from 435 [434] to 432 [431] to *ca.* 429 talents. It would take too long here to enter into the details of Nesselhauf's argument, but some control over the method of his investigation can be obtained by studying the results. Let us note, meanwhile, that Tod [*Gr. Hist. Inscr.*, p. 56] gives 369 instead of 487 talents for Period I, 349 + 30 app. = 379 instead of 398 talents for Period IV, and 338 instead of 429 talents for Period VI. There is little chance for difference of opinion in

the fourth period, for the lists are there unusually well preserved. A figure approximating 396 talents is undoubtedly correct.

One list of the sixth period (*I. G.*, I², 212) is fairly well preserved and may be almost completely restored [Tod, *op. cit.*, no. 56]. The total tribute for the names given in Tod's restoration is 328 talents, 4305 dr., to which must be added that of five Island items, nine Ionic items, and five Thracian items lost from the stone and not restored. The missing Island names increase the total tribute by 28 talents, 3000 dr. Even if all the eight Thracian names suggested as possible by Tod in his commentary are added, the tribute is increased further only by about 27 talents; and if the twelve names (occupying 14 lines) which appear in *I. G.*, I², 213 and not in *I. G.*, I², 212 are all added to the Ionic list for the nine lines there unrestored, the total is increased only by about 10 talents more. The absolute maximum for the tribute collected in 433/2 (*I. G.*, I², 212) thus appears to be less than 394 talents. Tod's estimate of 388 talents is surely more nearly correct than Nesselhauf's estimate of 429 talents. The physical limitations of the stone prevent the addition of more names to achieve the higher figure. It should be noted that Nesselhauf's argument for this period includes also *I. G.*, I², 210.

A control is more difficult for the first period, but even if Tod's suggested 369 talents seem too low a figure, the present reviewer feels that Nesselhauf's suggested 487 talents are far too high. Nesselhauf does not discuss the possible tribute of the third assessment period, where the exact income from the tribute in one year (444/3) may be determined with great probability as 376 talents, 4550 dr. [*I. G.*, I², 342; cf. Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 56].

It has always been a problem to reconcile the low figure of yearly tribute in the sixth period with Thucydides' report of the 600 talents a year just before the outbreak of the war. Nesselhauf gives a very convincing explanation, as a suggestion from Kolbe: προσιώντων μὲν ἑξακοσίων·ταλάντων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ φόρου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνυμμάχων (Thuc. II, 13, 3) does not mean that generally speaking 600 talents of tribute were received each year from the allies, but rather that 600 talents a year were received from the allies, in most part from the tribute.

The reviewer has read this book with great interest. It makes good use of the literary source material, and offers many excellent suggestions in the restoration and interpretation of the inscriptions. But there is much that is open to serious misgiving, especially in the interpretation of the quota lists from 436 to 427. It has been impossible here to go into all details. The volume may be read with great profit, but should also be read with discretion.

BENJAMIN D. MERITT.

Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua. Volume IV. Monuments and Documents from Eastern Asia and Western Galatia. Edited by W. H. BUCKLER, W. M. CALDER, W. K. C. GUTHRIE. Publications of the American Society for archaeological research in Asia Minor. Manchester University Press, 1933. Fp. xix + 144, 71 plates. 40s. net.

The value of this series is well known; it has for years provided us with careful editions of texts, published and unpublished, each equipped with a facsimile which obviates many uncertainties in the future. As in previous volumes, the comments have been kept brief, but they are masterly, and as before we have an excellent introduction which appraises the material thus presented. W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder need no introduction; W. K. C. Guthrie is very promising and welcome as a new worker in this field.

The evidence now laid before us comes from a small compact area, in which Synnada, Apollonia, and Dionysopolis bulk largest. It is a great advantage to be able to use what is a provisional corpus for this region. The inscriptions show us an overwhelming predominance of native religion, clothed in Greek terms; Zeus and Apollo, with the local epithets which veil old gods of the land. Artemis and Leto and Helios are the chief figures. There is no word of Isis, Sarapis, Mithras, Attis, Cybele, Juppiter Dolichenus; two dedications at most to Dionysus, one to Men, and one mention of Asclepius. We do not know to what cult *ο μύσται* refers at Apollonia (167); probably either to some local institution or to Dionysus. In 281, one of the new "confession inscriptions," we read *κολασθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πολλάκις καὶ πολλοῖς χρόνις διὰ τὸ μ(ῆ) βούλεσθε αὐτὸν ποσελθεῖν καὶ παρεσθάναι τῷ μυστηρίῳ καλούμενον ἐν*, where it is tempting to suppose that the lost continuation was something like *ὀνείροις*, referring to the dreams in which divine commands were here so often thought to be given. This mysterion was probably of the native type such as we find in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Syria, in which there was no element of initiation but only a drama at which the faithful assisted. We cannot postulate anything like the familiar mystery-religions of the Graeco-Roman world at large. In this region religion had very little in common with the general trends of that world; the population had only two things in common with the men of Alexandria and Corinth and Pergamon—divine names, and the cult-honors paid to the Emperor. Clearly distinct as these last were from normal worship paid to the gods [e. g., no. 292, dedication to Augustus, in his lifetime, by a priest *τευμῆς ἐτεκεν εἰς τε τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ τὸν*

οἰκον], they had a special importance in that they were thus universal.

Asia Minor is a geographical entity, and we are often tempted to think of it as a cultural and religious entity in ancient times. Yet it embraced a range of variety almost as great as that of Europe to-day, covering the highly hellenized coastline or the west and such diverse regions as this area, Galatia, Pontus, with their Celtic, Iranian and Hittite strains. This region received Greek influences, and in particular Seleucid influences (75, 226), but retained its individuality.

To come to detail, we may note in particular no. 82A, a sarcophagus of considerable interest; no. 88, a panel (? from a sarcophagus) with the formula ζῶν κτῶ χρῶ; no. 90, an archisynagogos; no. 110, the trisagion on a capital (cf. H. I. Bell, *Studies P. Ll. Griffith*, 202); no. 143, the Apollonia fragments of the Res Gestae of Augustus (with 66 lines not previously known in this copy); no. 230, Μηνὶ Πλουσιτρέων, a clear instance of the genitive with the name of worshippers discussed by me, *J. H. S.*, XLVIII, 42; the plan of the hieron of Apollo Lermenos near Ortakou, p. 98; nos. 279-290, new confession texts from the hieron, some of peculiar value (e. g., 282, in which Amazons and the Nikomachides figure after Apollo as deities); no. 330, a fragment of the Edict of Diocletian fixing prices; and various early Christian inscriptions.

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JOHANNES SYKUTRIS. Die Briefe des Sokrates und der Sokratiker. *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*, XVIII Band, 2 Heft. Paderborn, 1933. Pp. 125.

This monograph presents the arguments the conclusions of which are printed in the author's article, "Sokratikerbriefe," in Pauly-Wissowa R. E. Supplement V 981-987. It will serve also as a companion work to the critical edition of these letters which Dr. Sykutris promises to publish.

The chief conclusion of the work is that the letters of Sokrates (1-7) and the Sokratiks (8-35), with the exception of 28 and 35, form two unified groups each by a single author. It is difficult to assume that the stiff and silly letters which comprise the rest of the collection are by the author of 8-13, which are not without a measure of humor in their attack on Antisthenes and Simon. It is clear that 8 and 12 were written only to give occasion for the composition of the ironical answers of Aristippus and that 10 exists not merely to show how nobly Aristippus used his friendship with Dionysius but to demonstrate by 11 that Aris-

tippus was too scornful of Antisthenes to defend himself seriously in his letter to him. In short, 10-11 is not merely a foil to the other four but an indication of the way in which they are to be interpreted. This is inconsistent with the "konziliatorisches Bestreben" of the rest of the collection and is not due to the author's inability to conjure away or hide the enmity of Antisthenes and Aristippus, for the sole purpose of this little group is to ridicule Antisthenes and Simon.

Dittmar's use of 6 to reconstruct the *Kallias* of Aeschines and Dümmler's theory that the *Archelaus* of Antisthenes is the ultimate source of 1 are satisfactorily refuted. Since the Diogenes letter 32 is recognized as one of the patterns of 8 it is unnecessary to suppose [Plato] Epistle 7 to be the source of the proverbial *Σικελιωτικαὶ γράψαι*; and I cannot believe that an imitator would have "weakened" τοὺς ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης of [Plato] Epistle 4, 320 D to the πάντας of 29 § 1. In 6 § 6 I should suggest the reading *παιδεύσαι* for *παιδείσεως* with a comma after *ἐργοις*.

There is an emended text and an interpretation of 35 which succeeds in making something of the letter, which Dr. Sykutris separates from the rest of the collection as a forged Pythagorean writing later than the second century A. D.

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ALOIS WALDE. Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Dritte neu bearbeitete Auflage, von J. B. Hoffmann. 7. Lieferung. Heidelberg, Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1934. Pp. 481-560.

The fifth and sixth fascicles of this important work appeared in 1932, and were reviewed in this JOURNAL, LIV, 297-299. The present fascicle covers *ferentārius* to *fullō*, which in the second edition ran from page 283 to page 324; eighty pages of the third edition, to forty-one of the second. This increase is due largely to the growth of the articles, not to new inserted articles; for the third edition has only 183 captions to 177 of the second (cross-references are included in both figures). The new articles, other than cross-references, are *Feretrius*, *ferrūmen*, [*festō*], *fifeltārēs*, *fimārium*, *fiadō*, *fiastabulae*, *frāgus*, *fraxāre*, [*fuat*]; the omissions are a few cross-references, and the article *frūmo* (verb invented by Isidorus to explain *frumentum*).

The material is often recast in the new edition. Thus *fistūcā*, *forfex*, *foveō*, *frīvolus*, *frūstrā*, which had articles in the second edition, are now reduced to cross-references; for and *forum* are promoted from cross-references to articles. The caption words

are often changed in one respect or another: *ferreola* (for *fereola* of 2nd ed.), *fervō* (for *ferveo*), *fīcēdula* (*ficedula*), *flūta* (*fluta*), *fōcilō* (*focilo*), *for* (*fōr*), *forda* (for *fordus* of the 2nd ed.; an adjective meaning 'pregnant' could not have a masculine form); *fracēs* (noun, replacing verb *fraceo* as caption), *fragor* (for *frāgor*), *fragrō* (*frāgro*), *frōns* (*frons*, both words), *frūnīscor* (*frūniscor*), *frūstrā* (*frustra*), *frustum* (*frūstum*). These are in addition to the regular placing of the macron over the final *o* of the first singular of verbs and of nominatives of nouns (e. g., *frīgō*, *fictiō*), which in the second edition were left unmarked.

A few further comments. On *Feretrius*, cf. now G. S. Hopkins, *Indo-European *deiwo*s and Related Words, 32-36 (Lang. Diss. 12 of the Ling. Soc. of America). The caption *Fidius* of the 2nd ed. is replaced by the double caption *fidēs*, *Fidius*. On *firmus*, to which Hofmann gives in parenthesis the comment "*-i* Inscr., Sommer Hb.² 121", it may be said that the evidence of Italian *fermo* in favor of *ī* outweighs the single inscriptional tall *i* (*C. I. L.*, VI, 1248). On page 534, the caption *formus* is a misprint for *forus*. On *frāgum* 'strawberry', see now H. H. Bender in this JOURNAL, LV, 71-73, who demonstrates the correctness of Skeat's connection of strawberry with straw, and thus completes the separation of the English word from the Latin *frāgum*. *Frūmen*, which was one caption in the 2nd ed., is now divided into two. On page 555, *fuam* is between *frūx* and *fū*, and on 557 [*fuat*] stands between *fugiō* and *fuī*; both are slightly out of alphabetical position.

We look forward with eagerness to the later fascicles of this invaluable work.

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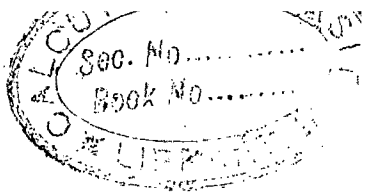
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THE SPANISH WAR OF AUGUSTUS (26-25 B. C.)

I. INTRODUCTION.

It is in no way surprising that the Spanish War of Augustus should have commanded so little attention in modern times; and it might well be asked how far such a subject can repay study. In comparison with the wars in Germany and Illyricum, with the momentous vicissitudes of the frontier policy of Augustus, the subjugation of Northwestern Spain seems dull and tedious. Moreover it is singularly lacking in what is called human interest. The imperial princes, Drusus, Tiberius, and Germanicus, are vivid figures; the characters of Lollius and Varus influenced the course of history. But the generals of Augustus in Spain, Antistius and Carisius, are shadowy and bloodless. On the other side, save for the brigand Corocotta,¹ the heroes of the last struggle for Spanish independence are not even names; and who is Corocotta that he should be set beside Arminius, Maroboduus, or Bato the Dalmatian?

Even the military historian, who so often can win his profit from barren fields like Octavian's campaigns in Illyricum, is here at a loss. The sources baffle enquiry. Cassius Dio, who compresses into one year the campaigns of two, becomes vague as well as brief. Florus and Orosius, however (who had reasons for being interested in Spain), both draw upon a common source, an Epitome of Livy, and provide accounts in which a certain abundance of detail unusual to them is blended with the confusion and obscurity which they have a right to call their own.

¹ Casually introduced by Cassius Dio, 56, 43, 3.

Moreover, even if the truth could be wrested from the sources, the result, so it might appear, would be of little value save for the study of warfare and topography. None the less it can be maintained that the campaigns of 26 and 25 B. C. have a wider significance than this. Though only a part, they are at the same time the best-known and the most important part of that long process of subjugation in Spain which was only completed in 19 B. C.; and this was one of the most difficult and one of the most valuable achievements of the Principate of Augustus, as historians indeed recognised.² The Spanish wars are not merely the suppression of revolts or the reduction of petty tribes that hitherto could be safely neglected. Their purpose and their result was the conquest of a huge area of territory extending from the northern bounds of Portugal to the Pyrenees and comprising some of the most difficult country and most ferocious peoples of Europe. The Callaeci on the western coast had already, it is true, felt the arms of Rome. But the mountain tribes, the Asturians and Cantabrians, were triumphantly independent. No Roman army had ever penetrated their fastnesses. Indeed in recent years the Cantabrians had harried the peaceful tribes of the plateau, the Vaccaei, Autrigones, and Turmogidi, and had extended their dominion over them. Since the Romans had first set foot upon the Iberian peninsula, two hundred years had elapsed. It was high time for the conquest to be completed.

That the Princeps should have chosen to leave Rome in 27 B. C. and betake himself to the provinces which a grateful Senate and People had committed to his charge is easily to be understood: not less so that Spain should first have received his attention. The departure of Augustus was accompanied by a vain rumour of an intended invasion of Britain;³ but, after a brief sojourn in Gaul he arrived in Spain before the end of the year and assumed his eighth consulate at Tarraco on the ensuing January 1st. The hardships of Spanish warfare offered a prospect not so much of military glory as of political credit,

² Cf. especially Livy XXVIII, 12: *itaque ergo prima Romanis inita provinciarum, quae quidem continens sint, postrema omnium nostra aemum aetate ductu auspicioque Augusti Caesaris perdomita est.*

³ Dio 53, 22, 5; 25, 2; and poetry of the period. Dio asserts that Augustus was diverted from the invasion of Britain by risings of the Salassi in the Alps and of the Cantabri and Astures. But it is difficult to believe that Spain was not his original and only goal.

and the conquest of the Northwest would establish the peace and guarantee the prosperity of the whole peninsula. Moreover it would liberate for service elsewhere some at least of the half-dozen legions now in Spain.⁴ Seen in the light of after events, the pacification of Spain was a necessary prelude to that grandiose design of conquest in Central Europe and the Balkans which first becomes definite, but which was perhaps not first designed, in the years 16-13 B. C.

To the study of the two campaigns that were conducted when Augustus was in Spain, few modern scholars have devoted time or trouble. "Schiller repeated the meager narrative of the sources, merely adding a few modern place-names, without subjecting the narrative to criticism, or applying to the vague statements of the ancients the evidence afforded by modern topographical study. Still less satisfactory is the treatment which the war received from Gardthausen and von Domaszewski. Except for Gardthausen's enumeration of the legions composing the army and his attempt to correct an error of the sources in regard to the legates charged with the conduct of a particular campaign, these historians contented themselves with a paraphrase of the sources and omitted entirely any discussion of the topographical problems." Such is the reasoned judgment of Professor Magie, who has made the first and only attempt to discuss the sources and wrest from them something like a coherent historical narrative.⁵ Florus (II, 33) and Orosius (VI, 21, 1-11), the kindred sources, both preserve the same order of events. These he prints side by side and uses the one to control or correct the other. His reconstruction of the war is, in brief, as follows:

1) In 26 B. C. Augustus made ready for the conquest of Northwestern Spain by establishing a base at Segisama or Segisamo (the modern Sasamon, west of Burgos).⁶ From this

⁴ The opinion of Ferrero that Augustus not only wished but needed to lay hands on the gold and silver of Northwestern Spain is not deserving of serious consideration. This region would have been conquered even if it had been as barren of mineral wealth as the Raetian Alps or the haunts of the brigands of the Taurus.

⁵ David Magie, "Augustus' War in Spain (26-25 B. C.)," *Classical Philology* XV (1920), 323-339.

⁶ These two towns are separate and can be distinguished (cf. Magie, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-9), but are not far distant.

position the whole army of Spain moved forward in three columns. One of the columns marched northward, presumably along the river Pisoraca (Pisuerga), and defeated an army of Cantabrians at Vellica, in the southern foothills of the Cantabrian mountains.⁷ They took refuge on the Mons Vindius,⁸ the western portion of the range, and were starved out. The second column moved towards the northeast and captured Aracelum (Aracelum, Florus; Racilium, Orosius) which lies twenty-four miles west of Pompaelo (Pamplona) on the main road from Aquitania.⁹ The third column, however, marched westwards from Segisama across the plateau of León and invaded the mountainous land of the Asturians, finally beleaguering the Mons Medullius, which Orosius designates as *Minio flumini imminentem* (VI, 21, 7). "It was finally captured in the course of the winter, and Augustus, upon receipt of the news, set out from Tarraco to receive the surrender in person."

2) In 25 B. C. the Astures (nothing daunted by the successful campaign of the third division of the Roman army) assembled in three bodies on the river Astura, intending to fall upon three Roman camps.¹⁰ "It would seem that the headquarters of the Romans had been transferred from Segisama to the plain of León, perhaps for the reason that the Cantabri were regarded as conquered and the Astures were now considered the only formidable enemies. Each Roman camp was under the command of a legate. One of these was evidently Carisius, the others were probably Antistius and Furnius (or Firmus)." The design of the Asturians was betrayed to Carisius, who inflicted a crushing defeat upon the enemy. They took refuge in Lancia (Cerro de Lance), nine miles southeast of León.¹¹ Lancia yielded to Carisius, and "the capitulation of this town, according to Dio, was followed by the capture of other strongholds, and the conquest of the district was thus completed."

⁷ Florus has *sub moenibus Bergidae*, in some MSS., however, *Belgicae*. Magie reads *Vellicae*—for *Vellicae* is mentioned by Ptolemy (II, 3, 50) as a town of the Cantabri. The reading in Orosius, *Atticae*, is an easily made error for *Vellicae*. Magie's conjecture, in any case highly attractive, has since been proved to be certain (see below, p. 297).

⁸ The *ὄρος Οὐίνδιος* of Ptolemy II, 6, 20.

⁹ In this identification, however, Magie is probably wrong (see below, p. 297 and p. 310).

¹⁰ Florus II, 33, 54 ff.; Orosius VI, 21, 9-10.

¹¹ *It. Ant.* 395.

Professor Magie's reconstruction has cleared up a number of difficulties, especially those of topography; and the present writer must confess a deep indebtedness to it. None the less, many problems still remain to be indicated, if not to be solved, before a satisfactory account of the war can be provided.¹² In one respect we can now be nearer certainty. A Spanish itinerary has been discovered which records the stations on the important Roman road from the valley of the Pisuerga northwards across the Cantabrian mountains by way of Reinosa to the sea at Santander.¹³ This was the route which, according to Magie, the first of the three columns followed in 26 B. C. One of the stations is named Villecia (the modern Helechía), which confirms his hypothesis about Veíllica, and about the route followed by the one column. The itinerary reveals, however, another station, Aracillum (near Reinosa), which suggests that Magie is wrong in identifying the Racilium of Orosius and the Aracelium of Florus with a place far distant, on another road, Aracelium twenty-four miles west of Pompaelo.¹⁴ His proposed route for the second column must therefore be doubted.

But there are more important questions than those of topography that demand a renewed investigation. There appears to be uncertainty about the number of armies in Spain at this time—a question of cardinal importance not only for the strategy of the war but also for the divisions of the Spanish provinces—and uncertainty about the identity and the status of the generals. Moreover, enquiry reveals that the whole order of events in Florus and Orosius is disturbed and confused. It will be convenient to discuss these topics separately and successively.

¹² Rice Holmes, *The Architect of the Roman Empire* II (1931), pp. 7-8, follows the account of Magie but adds in a footnote "I have no criticism to make, except that, owing to textual uncertainties in Florus and Orosius and blunders in the former, the result is necessarily unsatisfactory. Magie, indeed, wisely forbears to attempt to describe the campaign of 25 B. C."

¹³ *L'Année épigraphique* 1921, n. 6, "[Via] L(egione) VII Gemina ad Portu(m) Bledium, Rha[ni]a VII milias, Amaia XVIII, Villecia V, Legio I[V] V, O[c]taviola V, Iuliobriga X, Aracillum V, Portus Bled[ius]" For topographical identifications, see A. Blásquez, "Cuatro téseras miliares," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* LXXVII (1920), 99-107; M. Besnier, "Itinéraires épigraphiques d'Espagne," *Bull. Hisp.* XXVI (1924), 1-26.

¹⁴ See further below, p. 310. The true form is probably Aracillum.

II. THE NUMBER AND SIZE OF THE SPANISH ARMIES.

When we are first in a position to obtain definite information, that is to say after A. D. 9, the garrison of Spain consists of one army, that of Hispania Citerior (Tarraconensis), numbering three legions, namely, IV *Macedonica*, VI *Victrix*, and X *Gemina*. But at an earlier date, during the conquest of the Northwest in 27-19 B. C., there appear to have been no fewer than six or seven legions in Spain.¹⁵ Besides the three which remained as the garrison in the time of Tiberius, three others are attested by inscriptions and by the coins of colonies in which their veterans were settled after the wars, namely I (*Augusta*?), II *Augusta*, and V *Alaudae*.¹⁶ Moreover, the cognomen of another legion, IX *Hispana*, makes it highly probable that that legion had been stationed in Spain for some years before it proceeded to Illyricum, the province in which its presence is earliest attested.¹⁷ Of these seven legions perhaps only six were in Spain at the same time. One of them may have been summoned from another province, either to provide reinforcements in the period 27-19 B. C.—for these campaigns were tedious and bloody, as we might easily assume even if it were not so definitely stated in the ancient evidence¹⁸—or else a year or two later to take the place of legions probably despatched to the Rhine and to Illyricum in 19-13 B. C. (I, V, and IX?). And it might be conjectured that a legion had come from Africa, the pacification of which province

¹⁵ For the detailed evidence, see U. P. Boissvain, *De re militari Hispaniarum provinciarum aetate imperatoria*, 1879; E. Ritterling, *De legione Romanorum X Gemina*, 1885, and P-W, s. v. *Legio*, cols. 1221-3.

¹⁶ *Legio* I is perhaps the legion which Agrippa punished in 19 B. C. by depriving it of the cognomen *Augusta* (Dio 54, 11, 5). II *Augusta* presumably went to the Rhine in A. D. 9 (E. Ritterling, P-W, s. v. *Legio*, col. 1458). V *Alaudae* probably departed from Spain to Gaul very soon, for it is surely the Fifth Legion which lost its eagle in the 'disaster of Lollius' in 17 or 16 B. C. (Velleius II, 97, 1). Ritterling, however, supposed that the legion which lost its eagle (and was disbanded) was V *Gallica*, and that V *Alaudae* remained in Spain until A. D. 9 (P-W, s. v. *Legio*, cols. 1225 and 1571-2). On legions I and V, see further *JRS* XXIII (1933), 15-19.

¹⁷ P-W, s. v. *Legio*, col. 1665. Ritterling supposes that it had come to Illyricum by 13 B. C.

¹⁸ Dio 54, 11, 5 (19 B. C.).

seems to have been carried a long way forward by the campaigns of Sempronius Atratinus and Cornelius Balbus in 22-19 B. C.¹⁹

Six legions—for there were probably as many as six in Spain at the one time—is too large a total for one provincial army: and indeed the probability that there were still two armies, those of Hispania Citerior and Hispania Ulterior, just as before—for the situation was in no way different—is confirmed by the literary sources for the wars of 27-19 B. C. Cassius Dio mentions the commanders of two separate provincial armies in 22 B. C.²⁰ What was the strength of these armies? Probably of three legions each.²¹ Both Florus and Orosius mention a Roman army of three legions which was attacked by the Asturians in 26 or 25 B. C., but was rescued by another general with his army²² (see further below, p. 303 ff.). Moreover, after the conquest Cantabria was assigned to Hispania Citerior, the extreme northwest, however, Asturia and Callaecia, at first to Ulterior. Subsequently, at some date within a generation of the conquest, Asturia-Callaecia was attached to Hispania Citerior and the Spanish armies were automatically reduced from two to one. Yet even so, when, from A. D. 9 to A. D. 43, there were three legions in this army (IV, VI, X), two of them under the charge of one legate were stationed in Asturia-Callaecia, while another legate with one legion kept watch over the Cantabrians, as we learn from the circumstantial account of Strabo.²³ If this distribution of the armed forces in Spain was advisable after the subjugation of the Northwest, how much more necessary was the presence of the two armies before it. Yet their existence is seldom, if ever, allowed for in modern accounts of the campaigns of 26 and 25 B. C., not even by Gardthausen (who admits the presence of six legions) or by Professor Magie. It is of cardinal importance for the elucidation of the war: and even if not adequately attested by the evidence referred to above, would be imperiously demanded by the known geographical conditions,

¹⁹ For the view that there may have been more legions than one in Africa in the time of Augustus, cf. *JRS* XXIII (1933), 24-5.

²⁰ Dio 54, 5, 1.

²¹ Kornemann ("Die Entstehung der Provinz Lusitanien," *Festschrift für Hirschfeld*) admits a total of six legions, two in Hispania Citerior, four in Ulterior—probably on the analogy of the distribution of the three legions of Spain in the period A. D. 9-43.

²² Florus II, 33, 54; Orosius VI, 21, 9.

²³ Strabo III, p. 166.

especially by the absence of easy communications between Portugal and Northern Spain—the essential factor of the strategy of the Peninsular War. For this reason it would be permissible to conjecture that, though the Cantabrians could be dealt with by the army of Hispania Citerior alone, the penetration and subjugation of Asturia could only be effected by the two armies, the one coming from the east, the other from the south.

The vexed problems of the divisions of the Spanish provinces are here of relevance only in so far as they concern the armies. Cassius Dio mentions Baetica among the provinces assigned to the Senate in 27 B. C. Many scholars have doubted whether Hispania Ulterior was divided into imperial Lusitania and senatorial Baetica at so early a date. Albertini, however, in his full examination of the whole question, comes to the conclusion that Dio is right.²⁴ Yet the division of a province might have been expected to follow rather than precede an increase in its area: and the present writer is of the opinion that Augustus in 27 B. C. took as his portion all Spain just as he took all Gaul, and only gave Baetica (like Narbonensis) to the Senate and People when the work of pacification and organisation was well on the way to completion. The date of this change is an entertaining subject for speculation, but here only relevant to the nomenclature of the commander of the second Spanish army in the early years of the Principate—legate of all Hispania Ulterior, or legate of Lusitania. Merely for the purposes of brevity and convenience the two armies will be referred to as those of Tarraconensis and Lusitania respectively in the course of the following investigations. Nor need it concern the present enquiry to determine the date at which Asturia-Callaecia was detached from Lusitania and joined to Tarraconensis. This was clearly the result of a reduction of the total of legions in Spain, which rendered advisable the fusion of the two armies into one. Albertini suggests that this happened in the years 7-2 B. C.²⁵ An attractive date would be A. D. 9, in which year the garrison was in fact reduced to three legions, from a total of five, as Ritterling held, or rather, perhaps, in the opinion of the present writer,

²⁴ E. Albertini, *Les divisions administratives de l'Espagne romaine*, 1883, pp. 25-41.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 34-5.

from a total of four.²⁶ But the change may have taken place before this date.²⁷

However that may be, a recognition of the existence of the two Spanish armies makes it possible to distinguish the generals employed in the Spanish campaigns, their status and their functions.

III. THE LEGATES OF AUGUSTUS IN SPAIN.

In this matter the account of Florus has introduced error and confusion. When summing up the narrative of the campaigns of 26 and 25 B. C. after the fall of the Mons Medullius he employs the words: *haec per Antistium Furniumque legatos et Agrippam hibernans in Tarraconis maritimis Caesar accepit* (II, 33, 51). Gardthausen perceived that Florus is grossly in error.²⁸ Augustus left Spain in 24 B. C. In 25 B. C. Agrippa was certainly in Rome; he did not go to Spain until 19 B. C. Moreover, a passage in Dio dates Furnius to 22 B. C. — "the Cantabri," he says, "despised him because he had but recently arrived and they reckoned that he had no experience of Cantabria."²⁹ This seems pretty definite. Florus is wrong — these three generals were not simultaneously in Spain in the years 26-5 B. C. Antistius and Furnius were successively in Spain, or rather in Tarraconensis, in the period 26-22 B. C.: and Agrippa had charge of Spain, in virtue of his imperium, in 19 B. C.

Magie, however, does not accept this explanation in its entirety. Instead of Furnius the manuscripts of Florus give Firmius, those of Orosius, Firmus. Magie therefore prefers to suppose that there was an otherwise unknown Firmus or Firmius in Spain in 26-5 B. C., at the same time as Antistius. But he cannot escape the fact that Florus is wrong about Agrippa: and his argument that Furnius would still in any case be a new-comer to the Cantabri in 22 B. C. because the operations of Furnius

²⁶ P-W, s. v. *Legio*, col. 1237. Cf., however, *JRS* XXIII (1933), 19 and 29.

²⁷ In the year 3-2 B. C. the presence of the distinguished consular and friend of Augustus, Paullus Fabius Maximus, is attested in Callaecia (Dessau, *ILS* 8895): but it is not known whether he was legate of Tarraconensis or legate of Lusitania.

²⁸ *Augustus u. seine Zeit* II, 2, p. 374.

²⁹ Dio 54, 5, 1.

mentioned by Florus were directed not against the Cantabri but against the Astures, is not a strong one, for these operations, on his own showing, were conducted by troops from Tarraconensis, not from Lusitania. He could not make Furnius the governor of Lusitania in 26-5 B. C., for the governor of Lusitania is surely Carisius. It is he who rescues the other Roman army, overwhelms the Astures and takes Lancia, it is he who founds Emerita in the same year—and is still governor in 22 B. C.³⁰ In Magie's view Carisius, Antistius, and Furnius are merely the legionary legates in charge of the three camps attacked by the Astures. This can hardly be. In one of the sources Carisius is clearly designated as the commander of another army, which comes to the rescue and forestalls the Asturians.³¹ Moreover we know that Antistius (Vetus) was of consular standing. A simple solution offers itself: Antistius is the legate of Tarraconensis in 26-5 B. C., Furnius in 22 B. C., Carisius is in charge of Lusitania and its army from 26 to 22 B. C. (see further the Appendix, p. 315).

IV. THE ORDER OF EVENTS IN 26 AND 25 B. C.

The order of events is consistent from first to last in Florus and Orosius. But it is very difficult to distinguish the campaigns of the two years. Florus is hopelessly confused—in his precipitate epitomizing he connects the fall of Aracillum, the last event of the Cantabrian War, with the siege of the Mons Medullius (II, 33, 50): and the Mons Medullius, wherever it may be, is somewhere in Asturia-Callaecia, at the very least nearly two hundred miles away. Orosius, however, is more helpful. After recounting the Cantabrian War (the battle of Vellica, the surrender on the Mons Vindius, the fall of Aracillum), he continues with the words: *praeterea ulteriores Gallaeciae partes, quae montibus silvisque consitae Oceano terminantur, Antistius et Furnius legati magnis gravibusque bellis perdomuerunt. Nam et Medullium montem Minio fluvio imminentem in quo se magna multitudo hominum tuebatur, per XV milia passuum fossa circumsaepit obsidione cinxerunt* (VI, 21, 3). This point

³⁰ Florus II, 33, 54-8; Orosius VI, 21, 9-10; Dio 53, 25, 8; 54, 5, 1-3. Coins of Carisius, Babelon I, pp. 318 ff.

³¹ Florus II, 33, 56: *a quibus praemonitus Carisius cum exercitu advenit.*

surely provides the break between the operations of the two years. Those of the first year were devoted to the subjugation of Cantabria—only Cantabria, as the sources themselves indicate.³² They were conducted by Augustus in person. Here then we have a fixed point, the *Bellum Cantabricum* of 26 B. C. What follows next in Orosius, the invasion of the further parts of Callaecia and the siege of the Mons Medullius, was achieved by Antistius (and by the anachronistic Furnius!), the legate of Tarraconensis in the absence of Augustus, and therefore does not belong to the first year, 26 B. C., at all, but to the second year.³³ That is to say, the invasion of Asturia-Callaecia was not conducted, as Magie maintains, by one of the three columns of the army which operated in 26 B. C. under the charge, or at least the general supervision, of Augustus himself; it was the work of his legate of Tarraconensis, in his absence. This is evident both from the sources and on general grounds. The first year, we are informed by the sources, was devoted to the invasion of Cantabria in three army-columns. What then would one of these have been doing far to the west in Callaecia? The conquest of Asturia-Callaecia was far too arduous a task for merely a third part of the army of Tarraconensis—and was, in fact, probably achieved as the result of the operations of both armies (see below, p. 310). Augustus did not like taking risks in war.³⁴

The invasion of Asturia-Callaecia, then, belongs and must belong to the year 25 B. C. How does Carisius' defeat of the Astures and capture of Lancia in the same year (attested inde-

³² Florus II, 33, 48: *inde tripartito exercitu totam Cantabriam amplexus*; Orosius VI, 21, 3: *tribus agminibus totam paene amplexus Cantabriam*.

³³ According to Orosius (VI, 21, 6-8) the Mons Medullius was captured by Antistius and Furnius. As Furnius did not come to Spain until 22 B. C. (Dio 54, 5, 1) there might be some grounds for supposing that the operation belongs to that year. Cf. W. T. Arnold (*Studies of Roman Imperialism*, p. 157): "I am inclined to think that the siege of the fortress on Mons Medullius should be placed in 22 B. C. The details of the suicide of the Cantabrians by sword, fire, and poison (Dio 54, 5) correspond very closely to the account of the close of that siege in Florus." But Arnold has not observed that the siege described by Florus was in Asturia-Callaecia, not in Cantabria. Moreover he appears (*op. cit.*, p. 155) to be unconsciously identifying the Mons Vindius (in Cantabria) with the Mons Medullius (in Asturia).

³⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 25.

pendently by Dio) fit in with this order of events? In Florus and Orosius the exploits of Carisius are narrated after the conquest of Asturia-Callaecia — indeed, they appear as the last operations of the Spanish wars. This is strange, more than strange. Lancia, τὸ μέγιστον τῶν Ἀστούρων πόλισμα,⁸⁵ was situated on the plateau in the vicinity of the city of León, south of the Cantabrian chain and east of the Montañas de León. The neighbourhood is one of no little strategic importance. It is significant that when, from the time of Vespasian onward, the garrison of Spain had been permanently reduced to one legion, that legion was stationed at León, a position from which it would be within striking distance of both Cantabrians and Asturians. It is difficult to believe that Augustus in 26 B. C. could have contemplated a conquest of the Cantabrian mountains to the north with Lancia as yet untaken on his flank. Can Antistius in the next year have penetrated into the heart of Asturia-Callaecia with Lancia lying on the very road which the army of Tarraconensis was to follow in its westward march? No modern writer seems to have felt any qualms about it. But it cannot be believed. It is as though a Roman army coming from north-eastern Italy were to be found operating against Pannonians far down the Save without having bothered about Siscia. We must ask, does the capture of Lancia really follow, instead of preceding, the invasion and conquest of Asturia-Callaecia? The sources themselves almost betray the truth. Florus introduces the exploits of Carisius with the words *Astures per id tempus* (II, 33, 54). In an epitomator, such an expression is often worse than useless, for it may be completely and hopelessly wrong: but, if it were pressed, it should at least mean that the exploits of Carisius took place during the time when some of the operations which he has been describing were still going on, namely the Cantabrian War and the siege of the Mons Medullius (which he conflates). Orosius' treatment of this episode begins with the words *Astures vero* (VI, 21, 9). Why *vero*? It emphasizes by a contrast the word preceding. With whom then are the Astures to be contrasted? With the defenders of the Mons Medullius? But they too are Asturian. The unspoken contrast to *Astures* is certainly *Cantabri*. The cumulative suggestion of *Astures per id tempus* and *Astures vero* is a very powerful

⁸⁵ Dio 53, 25, 8; cf. Florus II, 33, 57: *validissima civitas*.

one—the exploits of Carisius should be dated either during or just after the *Bellum Cantabricum*, i. e. in 26 B. C. or at the very beginning of 25 B. C. This interpretation demands a detailed justification.

V. THE EPISODE OF CARISIUS.

The exploits of Carisius are intelligible in time and place only on the hypothesis that Florus and Orosius (or their source) have inserted them out of chronological order. A hypothesis of such a kind should be invoked only in the direst need, it is true: an examination of the methods of composition of Florus and Orosius will show how often it is necessary. We have seen how Florus compresses Antistius, Furnius, and Agrippa into the period when Augustus was wintering in Tarraco (II, 33, 51): to approximately the same period Orosius, using the words *quibus etiam diebus*, assigns many anachronistic events (VI, 21, 22). Florus, in another part of his work makes the march of D. Junius Brutus into Callaecia (137 B. C.) precede instead of follow the end of Viriathus (I, 33, 12); and if we had only his account we might imagine that Varus was the immediate successor of Drusus in Germany (II, 30, 31).

Epitomators often err about the order of events. This is especially the case when they are dealing (whether they know it or not) with two or more armies operating separately. Thus Florus and Orosius, after narrating the Cantabrian War, proceed with the further operations of the army of Tarraconensis under Antistius and only introduce Carisius with the army of Lusitania at the very end, as an afterthought, and in the wrong place. For this confusion the epitomator of Livy may have been responsible. But the original himself, hardly one of the better military historians, may have supplied a misleading narrative. One of Livy's chief sources must have been the Autobiography of Augustus—both as a historian and as a personal friend of the Princeps he had no choice. This work closed with the Cantabrian War and went no further—*Cantabrico tenui bello nec ultra*.⁸⁶ What is this *Bellum Cantabricum*? Orosius makes it begin in 28 B. C. and end in 24 B. C., with a duration of five years inclusive (VI, 21, 1 and 21). Properly speaking, however,

⁸⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 85.

the Bellum Cantabricum should be only the campaign of 26 B. C. The prominence which Augustus' presence lent to that campaign soon caused the name to be applied to both campaigns, those of 26 and 25 B. C., to the almost complete suppression in historical sources of any mention of the Asturians—against whom, as has been seen, Augustus did not proceed in person.³⁷ Now Augustus, as we know, "did not recount the exploits of others, but only his own":³⁸ naturally enough, for the work was not a history but an autobiography. Therefore it ended when his part of the Spanish wars, the Bellum Cantabricum, ended, in 26 B. C.—and not as is usually believed, in 25 B. C.³⁹ So, when Livy related the campaign of 26 B. C., he would have at his disposal the best of sources—and a single source. For the next year this would fail him: for the deeds of Antistius and Carisius he may have had to rely upon separate (and perhaps oral) sources of information and so may have inserted them, if not in the wrong order, at least carelessly, without either himself understanding or making clear to his readers the connection of events. Both Florus and Orosius, as we have seen, narrate the exploits of Carisius at a point which makes them a geographical and a military absurdity. Dio likewise records them at the end of the year 25 B. C. This concurrence of authorities might appear to provide a strong presumption of their veracity. But what if the same error, for error there has certainly been, lies at the root of both accounts? It is not enough to discredit these sources merely on geographical and military grounds, overwhelming though the case is. The case cannot be proved conclusively until the source and explanation of their error has been revealed. A very simple

³⁷ The three statements or anecdotes given by Strabo (III, p. 156; p. 164-6) refer only to the Cantabri. Horace, when referring to the subjugation of Spain, mentions only the Cantabri, never the Astures. Likewise Suetonius, Eutropius, and Aurelius Victor.

³⁸ Appian III. 15: καὶ ὅπως μὲν, οὐκ ἔγγων. οὐ γὰρ ἀλλοτρίας πράξεις ὁ Σεβαστός, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐαυτοῦ συνέγραψεν.

³⁹ Still less 24 B. C., as Peter, *Die gesch. Litt. über die römische Kaiserzeit* I, p. 372 and Rosenberg, *Einleitung u. Quellenkunde zur römischen Gesch.*, p. 95. Blumenthal ("Die Autobiographie des Augustus," *Wiener Studien* XXXV [1914], 114) says that the closing of the temple of Janus after the war in 25-24 B. C. would be a suitable ending: for a history—but not for a strictly autobiographical memoir (cf. Appian III. 15). For the year 25 B. C. Augustus would have had nothing but his maladies to recount (Dio 53, 25, 7; Suet. *Aug.* 81).

explanation can be brought forward. According to Dio, veterans were dismissed at the close of the campaign of 25 B. C. and the colony of Emerita was founded.⁴⁰ Now Emerita, as we know, was associated with Carisius—his coins bear the name and the image of that colony.⁴¹ It is reasonable to assume that he founded it. This being so, the rest is clear. The ultimate source of Florus, Orosius, and Dio did not recount the exploits of Carisius in their proper place in the war of 26-5 B. C., but brought them in when it mentioned his founding of Emerita in 25 B. C., a fitting occasion for a recapitulation of his services.

There remains, however, a problem which is perhaps insoluble. Do the exploits of Carisius belong to the spring of 26 B. C. or to the spring of 25 B. C.? First of all, the facts. The Asturians evidently sought to forestall the Roman attack. They "descended from their snowy mountains," gathered in three divisions at the river Astura and made ready to fall upon three Roman camps.⁴² If the phrase of Florus, *a montibus niveis*, has any value at all and is not merely ornamental, these three camps are winter-camps—those of the army of Tarraconensis, probably of three legions.⁴³ Where were they? Not necessarily on the Astura itself (which is either the Esla or its tributary, the Orbigo), but perhaps farther to the east. The army of Tarraconensis did not get wind of this design. But the commander of the other army had received early intelligence of it—the Brigaecini (in the neighbourhood of Benavente)⁴⁴ revealed it to him. And so Carisius came up in haste with his army from Lusitania,⁴⁵ and defeated the Astures in battle. He followed up his victory and captured the strong place of Lancia, not far from León. A result of these operations was, it is to be presumed, the subjugation of those Asturians who dwelt on the plateau of León (the Astures Augustani, as they were later called). The more formidable

⁴⁰ Dio 53, 26, 1.

⁴¹ Babelon I, pp. 318 ff.

⁴² Florus II, 33, 54-8; cf. Orosius VI, 21, 9-10.

⁴³ See above, p. 299.

⁴⁴ On the Brigaecini, cf. Magie, *op. cit.*, p. 337. Their town Brigaecium was forty miles southeast of Asturica (*It. Ant.* 439 and 440), and is perhaps Benavente on the river Orbigo. The strategic importance of this place is revealed in the history of the Peninsular War.

⁴⁵ Florus II, 33, 56: *a quibus praemonitus Carisius cum exercitu advenit.*

hill-tribes, however, still remained to be dealt with. On general grounds one would prefer to date these operations to the beginning of the year 26 B. C. Augustus was not likely to proceed against the Cantabrians until all precautions had been taken. When his columns marched northwards towards the Cantabrian mountains, their flank and communications would have been exposed to attack if the Asturians still held Lancia. The operations of Carisius could therefore be regarded as a desirable, if not a necessary, preliminary to the conquest of Cantabria. In this way the western flank of the army of Tarraconensis may have been made secure. Similarly one would be tempted to assume that, before the campaign of 26 B. C., there had been operations to the east, in the Pyrenaean regions, to make available for troops and supplies the best line of communications from Aquitania, by way of Pompaelo and Virovesca to Segisamo.⁴⁰ No fewer than six Spanish triumphs had been celebrated at Rome in the preceding ten years. Such preliminary operations are very often dwarfed by the climax of a war, their actors overshadowed. For example, the triumphant Alpine campaign of the favoured stepsons of Augustus in 15 B. C. has almost crowded out the solid achievement of P. Silius Nerva which made it possible.

It will here be assumed that the capture of Lancia by the legate of Lusitania took place just before the campaign of 26 B. C. If, however, as is quite possible, it belongs to the beginning of 25 B. C., one might suppose that during the campaign of the former year Carisius and a part of his army had moved northwards in order to keep watch on the Asturians while the army of Tarraconensis was engaged in the Cantabrian mountains.

An attempt may now be made to reconstruct the war of 26-5 B. C. It falls sharply apart into two campaigns, the *Bellum Cantabricum*, conducted by Augustus in person, and the *Bellum Asturicum* (as it may conveniently be called, though there is no ancient authority for the name) by the legates in command of the two armies.

⁴⁰ *It. Ant.* 455. For the fact that supplies were brought from Aquitania, cf. Strabo III, p. 165: ἐρεσιζόντο δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκυτανίας χαλεπῶς διὰ τὰς δυσχωρίας. It is unfortunate that the justification of the Spanish triumph of Sex. Appuleius on January 26th, 26 B. C., is not known (*OIL* I², pp. 50, 77, 181). It is to be noted, however, that Orosius makes the Cantabrian War begin in 28 B. C. (VI, 21, 1).

VI. THE BELLUM CANTABRICUM OF 26 B. C.

Augustus was in charge, but Antistius the legate of Tarraconensis was no doubt with him. Antistius already had some experience of mountain warfare.⁴⁷ The army marched forth from its base at Segisamo in three columns. It is not possible to determine with certainty the routes followed by each of them. But the design of conquest was grandiose—it embraced the whole, or almost the whole, of Cantabria:⁴⁸ and if, as has been suggested above, the plateau of León had already been cleared of hostile Asturians by Carisius, and the Romans already held the main line of communication with Aquitania by way of Pompaelo (Pamplona), a guess can be hazarded. The three most important passes leading across the Cantabrian mountains to the coast are the following: north of León the pass of Pajares, leading to Gijón; that of Reinosa, from the valley of the Pisuerga across to Santander; and that, beyond Espinosa, leading north-eastwards to Bilbao. It might be supposed that these were the routes of the three columns. Of the operations of the western and the eastern columns nothing appears to be recorded in our sources. This was to be expected if, as a matter of fact, the central column was that conducted by Augustus himself; as has been shown above, the ultimate source of the detailed information about the whole war was the autobiography of Augustus. Two place-names mentioned in the ancient evidence put the route of this central army beyond dispute. It was that of the later Roman road from the valley of the Pisuerga across the mountains by Reinosa to Santander and the sea. This road was present in none of the itineraries, but was attested by a milestone.⁴⁹ A recent discovery has revealed its course and the names of its stations.⁵⁰ Vellica, where the first battle occurred, can be identified as the modern Helechía, five Spanish miles south of the station of Legio IV.⁵¹

After the battle of Vellica, the Romans moved forward and gained the pass of Reinosa. The Cantabrians were thus split asunder and could be isolated and subdued. Some of them took

⁴⁷ Against the Salassi (Appian *III*. 17).

⁴⁸ Florus II, 33, 48; Orosius VI, 21, 3 (quoted above, p. 303, n. 32).

⁴⁹ *OIL* II, 4883, of A. D. 33-34.

⁵⁰ *L'Année épigraphique* 1921, n. 6, quoted above, p. 297, n. 13.

⁵¹ See above, p. 297. The identification is due to Blásquez.

refuge in the hill-fortress of Aracillum (beyond Reinos) ⁵² and held out there till the end of the campaign. The Romans could now reach the coast. A fleet coöperated, bringing troops, and probably supplies, from Aquitania. ⁵³ And so the task of reducing the enemy could proceed. Many of the Cantabrians had fled, so the sources inform us, to the Mons Vindius (the White Mountain?). This is the name given to the western portion of the Cantabrian range; somewhere upon it one body of Cantabrians was hemmed in and reduced. But we are told only about the operations of one of the three Roman armies — that commanded by Augustus. There must have been many an unrecorded siege, many an act of heroism or ferocity. The Cantabrians were a resolute and a resourceful enemy: and the Romans had to contend with hunger, with burning heat, and with plagues of flies. ⁵⁴ With the fall of the fortress of Aracillum the campaign closed; and Cantabria appeared to have been conquered. Augustus, worn out and dangerously ill, retired to Tarraco. ⁵⁵ He did not take part in the next year's campaign, the invasion of the mountain-girt fastnesses of Asturia. ⁵⁶ How was this effected?

VII. THE BELLUM ASTURICUM OF 25 B. C.

For the reconstruction of this campaign the sources provide no help at all. They mention only one army (that of Tarracensis). Yet the army of Lusitania must have coöperated—

⁵² Aracellum, Florus; Racillum, Orosius. The new itinerary has Aracillum, but the true form is probably Aracillum. It lay five Spanish miles beyond Juliobriga (near Reinos) and is perhaps to be identified with Aradillos, where there are remains of an extensive hill-fortress (cf. Dillon, *Travels through Spain*², 1782, p. 141).

⁵³ Florus II, 33, 49; Orosius VI, 21, 4. For the difficulty of bringing supplies from Aquitania, cf. Strabo III, p. 165 (quoted above, p. 308, n. 46). In P-W, s. v. *Cantabri*, col. 1482, it is stated that the fleet was commanded by Agrippa. This cannot be.

⁵⁴ Dio 53, 25, 5-6. For the flies, cf. Strabo III, p. 165.

⁵⁵ Dio 53, 25, 7. This was one of his most serious illnesses; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 81: *praecipue Cantabria domita*

⁵⁶ Dio, to be sure, says that Augustus fought against the Cantabrians and Asturians at the same time (53, 25, 5); but he compresses the two campaigns into the one year 25 B. C. — and there is no evidence that Augustus in person fought against the Astures. The scope of the campaign of 26 B. C. is indicated by Florus II, 33, 48; Orosius VI, 21, 3.

what was it there for, if not for this? None of the modern authorities who have dealt with this war has followed the guidance of the dominant and unchanged geographical conditions and assumed that the conquest of Asturia-Callaecia must have been the result of an invasion by two armies operating from separate and distant bases. The sources, to be sure, breathe not a hint of it: but they are not interested in the campaign as such; they mention only its dramatic end, the affair of the Mons Medullius. Even good authorities, however, may omit the march of a separate column, especially if that march is not accompanied by serious fighting. For example, Appian recounts fully and carefully Octavian's march from the Liburnian coast through the land of the Iapudes to Siscia in 35 B. C. But that is neither the best nor the only way of taking troops to Siscia: it is difficult to refrain from conjecturing that another army had marched down from Emona, easily and quickly, through friendly territory, to meet Octavian at or near Siscia. Appian does not mention it: but then his source, the autobiographical memoir of Augustus (which has been referred to above) will have given it scant attention. The advance of separate armies to a common goal was a method well known to the generals of Augustus and often practised. In 15 B. C. the Alps were conquered by armies operating both from Gaul and from Northern Italy. In A. D. 6 Bohemia was to succumb before a double, if not a triple advance, from the Rhine, from the Danube, perhaps from Raetia as well. The last stage of the suppression of the great revolt of the Pannonians and Dalmatians, the *Bellum Dalmaticum* of A. D. 9, witnessed a triple division of the Roman forces.

There would therefore be some reasons for assuming that in a similar situation, the penetration and conquest of Asturia-Callaecia, the two armies of *Tarraconensis* and *Lusitania* were to coöperate, and that there were at least two columns of advance, from the east and from the south. What follows is but guess-work. A large part of the army of *Tarraconensis* no doubt had to stay behind to hold down the Cantabrians and protect the long lines of communication. The rest marched with Antistius westwards, past León, past Astorga, over the *Montañas de León* by the pass of Manzanal into the mountain-girt basin of El Vierzo. In the meantime Carisius set in motion the army of *Lusitania*. Where it marched, and in how many columns, will never be

known. Perhaps up the valley of the Minho, perhaps from Braga to the river Limia and then northeastwards to the Sil, following the line of the later Roman road Bracara-Nemetobriga-Bergidum-Asturica. Thus he would cut off the difficult mountainous region of Orense and southwestern León—that is to say, those parts which lie between the above route and the other road from Braga to Astorga, the road Bracara-Aquae Flaviae-Compleutica-Asturica. From the Callaeci in the coastal region Carisius probably encountered no resistance. The Romans could dispose of a fleet⁵⁷—indeed Julius Caesar had reached Corunna in 61 B. C. Less accessible and less amenable were the Asturians. How much fighting was done, the nature of the sources makes it impossible to say.

The armies of Tarraconensis and of Lusitania, or at least some of their columns, effected a junction and proceeded to invest the Asturian fastness, the Mons Medullius, with a circumvallation fifteen miles in length. Of this site, no plausible identification has yet been offered.⁵⁸ All that is known is that it was *Minio flumini imminens*, somewhere on or near the Minho or its tributary the Sil—for the latter is the more considerable river of the two. According to the sources the fall of this position marked the end of the campaign.

The above remarks are nothing more than speculations about the conquest of Asturia-Callaecia; but they may claim to have the support of geography and of analogy. It would perhaps be most prudent to resign forever all hope of eliciting a credible

⁵⁷ Cf. above, p. 310, n. 53, and Isidorus, *Origines*, 15, 1, 69: *Emeritam Caesar Augustus aedificavit postquam Lusitaniam et quasdam Oeceni insulas cepit.*

⁵⁸ Magie (*op. cit.*, pp. 334-5) suggests that it is to be identified with the ridge running from east to west just before the confluence of the Sil and the Cabrera in the southwest of the province of León—and this may be right. Schulten, in the brief notice in P-W, *s. v. Medullius*, says "wohl der Berg S. Julian am Miffic bei Tuy, auf dem ich einen ausgedehnten iberischen Ringwall fand." But this would not be a suitable place for the last stand of the Asturians, nor would a circumvallation of fifteen miles (Florus II, 33, 50; Orosius VI, 21, 6-8) have been required. In another article (P-W, *s. v. Hispania*, col. 1984) Schulten says that there are two places called Mons Medullius. It is evident that if a site near the mouth of the river Tuy is to be baptized with the name of Mons Medullius, another Mons Medullius must be sought as the scene of the events described by Florus and Orosius.

and coherent account of a series of military operations from sources like Florus and Orosius. They contain, however, a certain amount of geographical detail, confused though it is. They therefore provide the materials for constructing an account of the route followed by one of the three Roman columns in the *Bellum Cantabricum* of 26 B. C. About the other two columns, however, and about the *Bellum Asturicum* of 25 B. C., details are lacking. All that we know is that Asturia and Callaecia were in fact conquered.

VIII. CONCLUSION.

According to Florus, at some time subsequent to the fall of the Mons Medullius Augustus came in person to the scene, brought down the natives from their mountains, exacted hostages and sold captives into slavery. This visit of Augustus is placed by Magie immediately after the capitulation. But Augustus in 25 B. C. was far too ill to undertake so arduous a journey, and his presence was not imperatively demanded. The confused abbreviation of Florus probably refers to a later date, as an examination of the context suggests.⁵⁹ Augustus was once again in Spain, during the course of his second sojourn in the provinces of the West in 16-13 B. C.⁶⁰ In 16 B. C. there had been some slight disturbances in Spain; and 15 B. C. was a year in which many colonies were established in Gaul and Spain.⁶¹ It may indeed have been at this time that *Hispania Ulterior* was divided into *Lusitania* and *Baetica*.

After the two campaigns of 26 and 25 B. C. Augustus appears to have regarded the war as over, Spain as pacified. Elderly soldiers were paid off and the colony of *Emerita* was founded. Augustus himself returned to Rome in 24 B. C. and a grateful Senate decreed that the temple of Janus should be closed. But the work of subjugation had not been thorough—indeed it had only begun. As in *Illyricum*, comparable by reason of the difficulty of the country and the ferocity of the natives, the first

⁵⁹ II, 33, 51-2: *haec per Antistium Furniumque legatos et Agrippam hibernans in Tarraconis maritimis Caesar accepit. mox ipse praesens hos deduxit montibus, hos obsidibus adstrinxit, hos sub corona iure belli venumdedit.*

⁶⁰ *Res Gestae* 12; cf. Horace, *Odes* IV, 5 and 14.

⁶¹ Dio 54, 20, 3; 23, 7.

submission was largely illusory. The suppression of the great revolt of the Pannonians and Dalmatians (A. D. 6-9) was in every way a more arduous task than had been their conquest some twenty years before. Likewise in Spain—the natives rose again and again. The pacification of the land could only be effected by the weapons of famine and massacre, by driving roads through the hills and by building fortified posts.

The presence of Augustus in the field in the year 26 B. C. has not only had a disturbing effect upon the sources for the campaigns of 26 and 25 B. C. It has warped and deformed the historical perspective of the whole process of the subjugation of Northwestern Spain. The exploits of Augustus in 26 B. C. have overshadowed everything that went before and everything that came after. It has been shown above that, before the arrival of Augustus, certain preliminary operations had probably paved the way for the conquest of Cantabria: and to Orosius 28 B. C. is the first year of the war (VI, 21, 1). But Orosius makes the war terminate in 24 B. C. Likewise Velleius, but with less excuse, for he was closer to the events. Velleius affects to believe that after Augustus' campaign there was no war, not even brigandage, in Spain.⁶² Yet at the time to which he refers there was serious fighting, adequately attested by Cassius Dio, in 24, 22, and 19 B. C.⁶³ Apart from stray references in the chroniclers Jerome and Cassiodorus and in Horace, only Dio has preserved these further campaigns from oblivion. It was only in 19 B. C. when Agrippa was brought to Spain that the pacification of the Northwest was completed—and then only after untold exertions and by the use of wholesale massacre and enslavement. We have every right to speak of a ten years' war in Spain (28-19 B. C. inclusive).

The prospect of a rising in Spain was still, however, a danger that had to be reckoned with. Even after the disaster of Varus Spain retained three legions. A war in Asturia is attested in the time of Nero;⁶⁴ and though the garrison had been reduced

⁶² Velleius II, 90, 4: *has igitur provincias tam diffusas, tam frequentes, tam feras ad eam pacem abhinc annos ferme quinquaginta perduxit Caesar Augustus, ut quae maximis bellis nunquam vacaverant, eae sub O. Antistio ac deinde P. Siliio legato ceterisque postea etiam atrociniis vacarent.*

⁶³ Dio 53, 29, 1-2; 54, 5, 1-3; 11, 2-7.

⁶⁴ Dessau, *ILS* 2648.

to one legion by the time of Vespasian, that legion remained there in permanence.

APPENDIX.

The Governors of the Spanish Provinces, 27-17 B. C.

I propose the following order of governors:—

Tarraconensis (Hispania Citerior)

27-24 C. Antistius Vetus (*cos.* 30 B. C.). Florus II, 33, 51; Orosius VI, 21, 6-7; Dio 53, 25, 7-8; Velleius II, 90, 4.

24-22 L. Aemilius (Paullus Lepidus, *cos.* 34 B. C.). Dio 53, 29, 1.

or

L. (Aelius) Lamia. Cassiodorus *Chron. ann.* 730.
22-19 C. Furnius (*cos.* 17 B. C.). Florus II, 33, 51; Orosius VI, 21, 6-7; Dio 54, 5, 1-2.

19-17 P. Silius Nerva (*cos.* 20 B. C.). Velleius II, 90, 4; *CIL* II, 3414.

Lusitania (Hispania Ulterior)

26-22 P. Carisius (perhaps never consul). Florus II, 33, 55-8; Orosius VI, 21, 10; Dio 53, 25, 8; 54, 5, 1-2.

19 ? L. Sestius (*cos.* 23 B. C.). See below.

Notes. Though Hispania Ulterior had probably not yet been divided into imperial Lusitania and senatorial Baetica, the word Lusitania is here used for convenience. Kornemann ('Die Entstehung der Provinz Lusitanien,' *Festschrift für Hirschfeld*, p. 224, n. 5) proposed to arrange the legates of Tarraconensis in the following order: in 25, Vetus; 24, Aelius Lamia; 23, Silius Nerva; 22, Furnius. This order has been adopted by Marchetti (in Ruggiero's *Diz. Ep., s. v. Hispania*) and by Ritterling (P-W, s. v. *Legio*, col. 1221). This would be an unusually rapid change of governors in an imperial province, to say the least of it; and in the following notes I give reasons for rejecting it.

C. Antistius Vetus. Though his presence in Spain is not attested before the campaign of 26 B. C., he had probably arrived in the company of Augustus towards the end of the previous year to take the place of Sex. Appuleius who triumphed on Jan. 26th, 26 B. C. (*CIL* I², pp. 50, 77, 181).

L. Aemilius Paullus Lepidus. Dio (53, 29, 1) has Λούκιον Αἰμίλιον, but many scholars (Kornemann, Marchetti, Ritterling, Rice Holmes) have adopted the conjecture of Boissvain, Λούκιον Αἶλιον, for the name Lucius (Aelius) Lamia is provided by Cassiodorus. P-W, s. v. *L. Aelius Lamia* and *PIR*¹ mention

only the friend of Cicero, *equestris ordinis princeps* (*Ad. fam.* XI, 10, 2), and the consul of A. D. 3. Neither of these is a suitable candidate. *PIR*², however, admits another L. Aelius Lamia, the son of the former and the father of the latter. This is an eminently desirable and necessary invention. None the less it may be recalled that an eligible Aemilius does exist, L. Aemilius Paullus Lepidus (*cos.* 34 B. C.), the nephew of the triumvir (not the consul of A. D. 1, as Gardthausen, *Augustus u. seine Zeit* II, 2, p. 376, supposes). He had been a partisan of Augustus and became censor in 22 B. C. One of his sons was to marry Julia, the granddaughter of Augustus.

C. Furnius. See above, p. 301, for Gardthausen's exposure of the error of Florus. Yet Marchetti had no qualms about making Furnius contemporary with Antistius Vetus in Spain. For Professor Magie's view, see above, p. 301.

P. Silius Nerva. Velleius (II, 90, 4) provides no clear indication of date. Kornemann, Marchetti, and Ritterling place him in 23 B. C. Gardthausen in his narrative (I, p. 688) makes him succeed Furnius at some time *before* 19 B. C., but in his notes (II, 2, p. 377) says that Silius' governorship was probably *after* 20 B. C. In P-W (s. v. *P. Silius Nerva*) the date 19 B. C. is proposed—and is to be accepted. Not long after this he was active in Northern Italy, probably when proconsul of Illyricum (Dessau, *ILS* 899), and was able to profit from his experience of mountain warfare. The Alpine War of Silius is recorded by Dio under 16 B. C. (54, 20, 1-2) in a chapter resumptive of many events. It may well have covered both 17 and 16 B. C. Whether this be so or not, it would be reasonable to assign to his Spanish command a duration from 19 to 17 B. C.

P. Carisius. For the date of the capture of Lancia (26 or 25 B. C.) see above, p. 303; for the date of his founding of Emerita, p. 307. Dio calls him *Τέρος Καρίουος*, but the praenomen *P.* occurs on the coins. Gardthausen (II, 2, p. 375) suggested that the *P. Carisius* of the coins was celebrating his father's exploits, not his own.

L. Sestius. On a promontory of the coast of Callaecia stood three altars dedicated to Augustus by a certain Sestius: *tres arae Sestianae Augusto dicatae* (Pliny *NH* IV, 111; cf. Mela III, 13 and Ptolemy II, 6, 3). Hübner (P-W, s. v. *Arae Sestianae*) inferred that the common source of both Pliny and Mela was the *Chorographia* of Agrippa. This may or may not be so—if so, it provides a *terminus ante quem* for the erection of the altars. Hübner further suggested that the Sestius who set up the altars was L. Sestius, *cos.* 23 B. C. One might perhaps go further and suggest that when Sestius did this he was governor of Lusitania: a suitable date would be 19 B. C., the year of

the final and complete pacification of Spain. But this is mere conjecture.

The above data are of interest not merely for the elucidation of the Spanish Wars. They provide some information about the military men whom Augustus could trust and employ in the earlier years of his Principate, and evidence enough to refute the view that at this time a distinction was drawn between "praetorian" and "consular" provinces. Of four legates of Tarraconensis in the period 27-17 B. C. one (or two, if L. Aelius Lamia is admitted) was of praetorian standing. For Lusitania, the army of which must have been as large as that of Tarraconensis, the evidence is unfortunately not so abundant. Carisius, however, is not known ever to have been consul. Similar, though scanty, evidence is available from other provinces, for example, for Macedonia (M. Primus, a praetorian, was proconsul in 23 B. C., M. Lollius, a consular, *ca.* 19-18 B. C.) and, in the opinion of the present writer, for Galatia.

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POLYEUKTOS AND THE SOTERIA.

In a recent article in *Hermes*¹ Kolbe discusses anew the question of the founding of the Aetolian Soteria. The conclusion he reaches sustains the instinctive impresson of everybody that a fête organized to commemorate the repulse of the Gauls from Delphi in 279/8 B. C. should have been founded soon after the event; and is, accordingly, a return to a position from which scholars have been forced reluctantly by the accumulation of evidence which they could not resist.

This may be considered under three heads:

(1) The time of the founding of the Soteria by the Aetolians admittedly coincides with the acceptance of their fête by the Athenians in the archonship of Polyeuktos (*IG*². II, 580); and, according to the view to which Kolbe returns, Polyeuktos was assigned to the epoch 277/6–275/4 B. C. The first to challenge this assignment was de Sanctis,² and his chief reason for so doing was the appearance in a decree (*IG*². II, 683), dated in the archonship of Hieron (immediate successor of Polyeuktos), of public sacrifices “on behalf of the Council and People of the Athenians, of their children and wives, and of King Antigonos” — a formula which (with appropriate variations) is usual in decrees belonging to the period 262–229 B. C. and is intelligible best (if not only) on the assumption that Athens was a Macedonian dependency.³ The weight of this point was weak so long as it could be contended that Athens was subject to Antigonos at some time between 288 and 262 B. C., but it increased in gravity with the gradual elimination of evidence that such was the case; and Kolbe is now able to cite in its support only one problematical document (*IG*². II, 678).⁴ This is a decree in

¹ 1933, pp. 440 ff.

² *Riv. di Fil.*, 1900, p. 58; 1923, pp. 167 ff.

³ Kolbe's comment (*c. c.*, p. 452) is as follows: Nur so viel lässt sich sagen, dass die Athener Antigonos in ihre Gebete einschlossen, um ihm ihre innere Anteilnahme zu bezeugen. It could not mean less. That it did mean more seems to me to be implied in its discontinuance after 229 B. C.

⁴ Published from Pococke's copy (*Inscr. antiq. gr. et lat.*, p. 56, no. 63). The alleged excision, on which Kolbe's argument rests, is doubt-

honor of the prytanes of Aigeis of the archonship of Eubulos; and its attribution to the period of the 'seventies has now to be called into question. We owe our text solely to a copy made by Pococke, its date to the natural assumption that the Eubulos in question is the Eubulos mentioned in the letters of Epicurus, who died in 271/0 B. C. A fragment of a prytany-decree of the same year has been found recently in the course of the American excavations in the Agora. This demands a later date. We have to reckon with a second Eubulos belonging to the Macedonian epoch.⁵ Public sacrifices for the king of Macedon are an anachronism in the 'seventies.

(2) What did most to constrain scholars to move Polyeuktos and Hieron down from the 'seventies to the 'fifties or later was the discovery that they had to do, not with two archons alone,

ful. Since, as Dow remarks, both the lost line (which had innocuous portions) and the one immediately preceding (14) ended in $\pi\alpha$, Pococke can easily have omitted line 15 inadvertently either when copying the inscription or preparing his transcript for the press. He does not note any omission at this point. The fault may, of course, go back to the stonemason. Excisions are rare in records inscribed before 262 B. C.; cf. Johnson, *AJP.* 1913, p. 388; Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 507; *Hesperia*, 1933, pp. 497 ff., nos. 13-15. The only examples are *IG*². II, 665 (an ephēbe list of Menekles' year) and *Hesperia*, 1933, p. 497, no. 13 (a prytany list, probably of the early third century), from which the tribal captions, Antigonis and Demetrias, were removed in 200 B. C.

The other document mentioned by Kolbe in this connection (*IG*². II, 677) has no relevance. Herakleitos of Athmonon was Macedonian general in the Piraeus in c. a. 250 B. C. (*IG*². II, 1225). Hence, quite apart from the appearance in *IG*². II, 677 of [τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει]—a good index in my judgment—it is obvious that this decree does not belong in the 'seventies.

⁵ The document (*Agora Inven.* 1024) will be published in an early number of *Hesperia*. I owe my knowledge of it to Meritt and Dow, with whose kind permission I am enabled thus prematurely to make use both of it and the text cited below in n. 14. The space requires the restoration in line 5 of τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει. The secretary of the Council and People, Νεοπόλεμος Δειραδῖ(ώτης), was orator in Kallimedes' year (*IG*². II, 780, 246/5 B. C.). The prytanis, Kallistratos, son of Telesinos, of Erchia, was chairman of proedri in Diomedon's year (*IG*². II, 791). Another prytanis, Antiphon, son of Polyeuktos, of Phegaia, had a son among the ephēbes in Philoneos' year (*IG*². II, 786, 241/0 B. C.?); and yet another, Nikon, son of Theodoros, of Plotheia, was probably grandson of the secretary of the same name in 302/1 B. C.

but with five at least, probably six, and possibly more (*SEG.* II, 9); and it was this discovery which led Beloch⁶ to affirm flatly that there was no room for so many archons in the period prior to 264/3 B. C. Kirchner,⁷ Kolbe,⁸ Walek,⁹ and Lehmann-Haupt¹⁰ alone resisted this conclusion, and Kirchner has since recanted.¹¹ Kolbe reaffirms his position. It is now hardly tenable. The chances are strongly against our knowing all the archons who should be dated between the termination of the list preserved in Dion. Hal., *de Dinarcho* and the death of Epicurus.¹² Yet on placing Polyeuktos, Hieron, Diomedon, Theophemos, and Kydenor in the 'seventies we should have now the names of 21 archons who have to be dated in the 20 or 21 years between Philippos (293/1 B. C.) and Pytharatos (271/0 B. C.), viz., Aristonymos*,¹³ Charinos*, Kimon, Diokles, Diotimos*, Isaios*, Euthios, Urias*, Olbios,¹⁴ Gorgias, Anaxikrates (279/8 B. C.), Demokles (278/7 B. C.), Polyeuktos, Hieron, Diomedon, Theophemos, Kydenor, Eubulos*, Telekles*, Menekles, and Nikias Otryneus.¹⁵ That is to say, on including Xenophon, we

⁶ *Griech. Gesch.* IV, 2, p. 79.

⁷ *Phil. Woch.*, 1924, pp. 873 ff.

⁸ *Klio*, 1914, p. 268.

⁹ *Rev. de Phil.*, 1924, pp. 6 ff.

¹⁰ *Επεμνήστων* to H. Swoboda, 1927, p. 165.

¹¹ *Gnomon*, 1932, pp. 456 ff.

¹² For the 132 years between 292/1 and 160/59 B. C. we have 37-90 archons; i. e., one third of them is still missing. On the other hand, only 6 or 7 are lacking between 292/1 and 230/29 B. C.

¹³ An asterisk designates archons mentioned in the letters of Epicurus.

¹⁴ A new text from the Agcra, with the dating Ἀρχων Οὐβίας (cf. *IG²*, II, 658), brings Olbios into proximity with Urias. Like the decree published by Meritt in *Hesperia*, 1933, p. 156, no. 5 (Olbios archon) it was passed on the motion of Leon, son of Kichesias, of Aixone, grandfather of the epebe of the same name in Kimon's archonship (*IG²*, II, 787, 237/6 B. C.). Both decrees deal with the same subject—praise of taxiarchs. Following Meritt, I now date Olbios in 277/6 B. C., instead of 266/5 or 247/6 (*Athenian Tribal Cycles*, pp. 35 ff.).

¹⁵ Menekles and Nikias Otryneus must precede Polyeuktos; cf. *IG²*, II, 681 and 665, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 102. Whether these two archons belong in 281/79 or 269/7 B. C. is a controversial question. Without accepting Dinsmoor's construction of *IG²*, II, 666, 667, justly rejected by Kolbe (*Gött. Nach.* 1933, p. 506) and Tarn (below), I see no difficulty in assuming that Strombichos, after having deserted to the Athenians and joined them in their attack on the Museion in 288

should have already one or two too many for the space available.¹⁶ The only reasonable way to obtain relief is to move elsewhere the Polyektos-Kydenor group.¹⁷

(3) We have now learned that Smyrna responded to the

B. C., was given Athenian citizenship only when he fought for them again in 269/8 B. C. An interval between his first service and his second is certain: it may have been 19 years or 6. A strong case for the shorter interval and the earlier date for Menekles and Nikias is made out by Tarn in an article in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for 1934, entitled "The New Dating of the Chremonidean War", proofsheets of which he very kindly sent me. I accept his position on the chronology of this war (see below, pp. 330 f.): 267/6 B. C. is indubitably the right date for its opening. His argument for placing Menekles and Nikias in 281/79 B. C. is less conclusive. Without going into details, I think it can be adjusted to the later date without serious difficulty: Antigonos' recapture of the Piraeus might be the main outcome of the war in Menekles' year (269/8 B. C.)—a seizure which broke the *σπονδαί* of 279 B. C. I do not see that it follows from *IG*². II, 665, that the ephebes were the *only* guards of the Museion: *they* were there; other troops may have been with them. It seems to me that it is overstressing the *τοῦ* in *τοῦ πολέμου γενομένου* (*IG*². II, 666/7) to infer that Athens was involved in no war between B. C. 288 ff. and Menekles' year: *the* war need mean nothing more than "the war which was fresh in men's minds". What we should infer is that Strombichos did nothing distinguished in Olympiodoros' recovery of the Piraeus in 280 B. C. or in the struggle with the Gauls. This may seem curious; but *καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς χρεῖας ἀπροφασίστως παρσχομένος διατετέλεκεν καὶ διαμεμέρηκεν ἐν τεῖ τοῦ δήμου εὐνοίαι* may cover obscure services on these occasions. It is more curious that the failure to hold the Piraeus should have been followed by a string of honorary decrees (*IG*². II, 665, ll. 13 f.); and this conferment of rewards finds a more natural explanation if its occasion was the capture of the Piraeus. We must await a new document for a final settlement. As Tarn remarks, the Tribal Cycles are not involved in this question.

¹⁶ See Appendix A, pp. 332 ff.

¹⁷ A date for the group in *ca.* 250 B. C. has strong prosopographical support. The recurrence of the same individuals among the officials of the Salaminian *thiasos* of Bendis in the archonships of Hieron, Lysitheides, and Thersilochos (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 91) places these archons closer together than is probable, not to say possible, when Hieron is dated in 276/5 B. C. Moreover, as Mr. Dow will demonstrate in a later study, the style of the preamble in *IG*². II, 679 (Polyektos archon) is anachronistic in the 'seventies: the formula of sanction (*ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ*), centred and occupying a whole line, is not found otherwise until much later.

invitation of the Aetolians to recognize their Soteria at the earliest in 246 B. C. I have given reasons for thinking that an acceptance, thus belated, of a fête founded in 254 B. C. is unobjectionable in view of Greek practice in such matters.¹⁸ Kolbe has to assume that thirty years intervened. That is certainly less easy.

A solution of our problem which has found wide acceptance was presented by Roussel ten years ago.¹⁹ He claimed that there were two Soteria, one an annual Amphictyonic fête founded immediately after the repulse of the Gauls, and a second penteteric fête established by the Aetolians in the archonship of Polyuktos. This solution Kolbe rejects; and it is the chief service of his article that he has compelled us to re-examine the case. The basis of Roussel's thesis he leaves uncontested and it is uncontested. The Delphian records fall into two groups, an earlier dated by the Delphian archon and the priest of the *technitai* in which all contestants are listed, and a later with an Aetolian as *agonothetes* and registering the victors alone. Kolbe's contention is that notwithstanding this difference, which he treats as unimportant, the identical organization of the musical part of the festival (with which alone our records deal) and the identically wide provenience of the contestants show that there was one and only one Soteria. I do not dispute the facts he adduces to sustain this conclusion. What I do dispute is the interpretation he gives to them. It is, of course, true that both *agones*, the Amphictyonic and the Aetolian, involved alike contests of *rhapsodoi*, *kitharistai*, *kitharodoi*, *choreutai*, *auletai*, *tragoidoi*, and *komoidoi*. But what else could an *agon* of this type involve? The performers at Delos in 234 B. C. were *tragoidoi*, *komoidoi*, *auletai*, *kitharodoi*, *psaltes*, *kitharistes*, and *rhapsodoi*, in addition to *choreutai* (*IG. XI 2*, 105); and while deviations from norm occurred both at Delphi (*Ditt. Syll.*². 424, n. 2) and at Delos, they were slight. The rigidity of musical programmes was obviously reflected and stereotyped by the organization of the guilds of *technitai*; and though the contestants were probably more numerous (since the victors alone were recorded), and the priest of the *technitai* is no longer

¹⁸ *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, pp. 123 ff.; cf. Tarn, *JHS.* 1933, p. 144; Flacelière, *REA.* 1933, pp. 325 ff.; Kolbe, *Hermes*, 1933, pp. 455 f.

¹⁹ *REA.* 1924, pp. 97 ff.

eponymous, there can be little doubt that the Aetolian *agonothetes*, like the Delphian archon, depended primarily upon the resources of the professional associations of artists.²⁰ The programmes of the Amphictyonic Soteria were modest: they contained fewer extras than those of the Athenian *technitai* who staged the musical *agones* of the Pythais in 128/7 and 106/5 B. C. (Ditt. *Syll*³. 698A, 711L), and the number of contestants, which was obviously limited and near the minimum in each class, was not greater. The wide provenience of the artists is unmistakable; cf. the Table presented by Kolbe (p. 442). In the archonship of Aristagoras (Ditt. *Syll*³. 424) the participants, including contestants and helpers, came from 31 different cities and *ethne* — from points as far distant as Bosporos, Naukratis, Chios, Abydos, Cyrene, Kassandreia, Ambracia, Miletus. "Wir sehen," remarks Kolbe, "dass die Soterien schon in der frühesten für uns greifbaren Epoche nicht nur von Künstlern aus der näheren Nachbarschaft besucht wurden. Neben Attika, Boiotien, Aitolien und der Peloponnes ist der griechische Westen mit den Ionischen Inseln, Ambrakia und Syrakus, der Osten mit Milet und Rhodos, der Norden mit Kassandreia, Philippi und Byzanz vertreten." The point, as it seems to me, is this: did they come to the Soteria from their distant homes or from the neighboring centres of the *technitai*? If from the latter, the only bearing of Kolbe's *data* is on the geographical and ethnic composition of the associations of artists. They yield nothing as to the character — Panhellenic or local — of the fête. Now there can be no doubt that the associations of *technitai* drew their members from all over the Greek world.²¹ In two cases it is expressly recorded that a *koinon* of *technitai* provided the programme of the Amphictyonic Soteria. In the first (a fragmentary document, *Fouilles de Delphes*, III 1, 477, dated by Flacelière, *BCH.* 1929, p. 441, no. 17c, in 264 B. C.) of the 18 contestants listed 5 belonged to Boeotia, 2 each to Hermione and Athens, and one each to Megalopolis, Stymphalos, Arcadia, Delphi, Kassandreia,

²⁰ Cf. Roussel, *BCH.* 1923, p. 17, n.

²¹ Poland, *Gesch. d. griech. Vereinswesens*, p. 327. The members of the Athenian *synodos* in the latter part of the second century B. C. were apparently all citizens of Athens, though some of them were citizens of more than one country simultaneously; cf. Klaffenbach, *Symbol. ad hist. coll. artif. Bacch.*, pp. 47 ff.

Sicyon, Syracuse, Argos, and Pella. In the second (again a fragmentary document, Ditt. *Syll*³. 489, dated by Flacelière, p. 442, no. 18, in 263 B. C.)²² of the six performers listed one each belonged to Hermione, Arcadia, Syracuse, Athens, and Megara. If we had the entire lists with their c. 75 names each, it is intelligible that they too should have come from 31 different cities or *ethne*. It is clear that the membership of the guild of Nemean and Isthmian *technitai* (which comes primarily in question) was almost as Panhellenic as that of a Hellenistic corps of mercenaries (*IG*². II, 1956). The connection of the associations of *technitai* with the Amphictyonic Soteria is proved definitely by the two documents just analyzed, must be assumed generally from the use of their priest's name in dating the records, and existed from the very beginning if the original grant of international privileges made by the Amphictyony to the Athenian guild in 278-277 B. C. (*IG*². II, 1132) coincides, as seems inevitable, with the inauguration by the Amphictyony of the fête commemorating the repulse of the Gauls from Delphi. The rôle of the artists was presumably the same then as at the refounding of the Museia at Theophae (Ditt. *Syll*³. 457): they not only participated actively themselves but they sought to gain the adhesion of the "rest of the Greeks". It is not the provenience of the contestants but of the *theori* which attests the vogue of a fête and on this point the records of the Amphictyonic Soteria give no information. On the evidence, thus interpreted, the Amphictyonic Soteria may have been a local Delphian festival (an *epideixis* rather than an *agon*; cf. Robert, *BCH*. 1929, p. 38; *Fouilles de Delphes*, III 3, p. 91) staged by a neighboring guild of *technitai*, for which Panhellenic acceptance was never even solicited.

It had to be conceded by Roussel, and the point is stressed by Kolbe, that the texts²³ represent the Aetolians as the founders

²² For a better text see *SEG*. II, 339: τὸ κοινὸν τ[ῶ]ν τεχνιτῶν ἐπέδωκε τῶ[ι] θεῶ[ι] καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτυόσιν εἰς τὰ Σα[τ]ήρια τὸν ἀγῶνα παντελῆ. For the meaning of ἐπέδωκε see Ditt. *Syll*³. 690, n. 5, s. v. δωρεάν: *gratuito*, *idem quod alibi ἐπέδωκαν*, cf. n. 489. From the fact that exceptionally the *technitai* gave the programme as a gift it is a legitimate inference that ordinarily the Amphictyonic *agon* was *χρηματίας* and not *σπερμίας*.

²³ *IG*². II, 680 (Ditt. *Syll*³. 408); Ditt. *Syll*³. 402; *Fouilles de Delphes*, III 1, 481-483.

of the penteteric Soteria and not as the reorganizers of an earlier fête. Kolbe contests with considerable success the cogency of the analogies adduced by Roussel to rid himself of the embarrassment thus presented to his theory. Let us concede that they are non-probative. The question, as we must now formulate it, is this: in what circumstances can the Aetolians have represented themselves as the founders of Soteria at Delphi if Soteria existed there already? The only possible answer seems to me to be that the Aetolians as a state had nothing to do with the founding or conduct of the earlier fête. Polyeuktos apart, there is not a shred of evidence that they had.²⁴ There is some evidence to the contrary. In 278-277 B. C. the Thessalian *hieromnemes* had the formal primacy in the Amphictyony (Ditt. *Syll*³. 399), and in *c. a.* 264 and 263 B. C. the *technitai* gave the musical fête τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύουσιν.²⁵ Why are Zeus and the Aetolians omitted? The mere fact that there were Aetolian *hieromnemes* and that the Aetolian League had a preponderance of influence in that body does not make an Amphictyonic act an act of the Aetolian League; and conversely an act of the Aetolian League was not an Amphictyonic act. We have two separate jurisdictions. It is, I think, significant that in the records of Polyeuktos' year the Aetolians do not claim Amphictyonic sanction for their foundation; ²⁶ they emphasize, rather,

²⁴ It is no evidence (cf. Kolbe, *Hermes*, 1933, p. 450) that they themselves commemorated their victory over the Gauls.

²⁵ *Fouilles de Delphes*, III 1, 477; Ditt. *Syll*³. 489. Unless "the god" (i. e., Apollo) is particularized because the record covers only the musical features of the fête, it seems likely that the annual Soteria honored Apollo alone, the penteteric Zeus and Apollo. This is all the more probable since there is no evidence that the annual festival included anything but musical features. "The god" reappears as the recipient of the *agon* of the "winter Soteria" (Ditt. *Syll*³. 690). In the Coan decree of 278 B. C. the sacrifices offered to Zeus Soter, the Pythian Apollo, and Nike were local. Incidentally, the natural time for the founding of the Amphictyonic Soteria was the Pythia of 278 B. C., and, if this year had not been preoccupied by the archon Demokles, and thus unavailable for Polyeuktos, we should never have thought of 277, 276, or 275 B. C. It is not the least merit of Roussel's theory that it enables us to date the original organization of Soteria at Delphi in the right moment.

²⁶ In the later document (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III, I, 483) the phrase appears, [ράς] τε θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καθότι ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν ἀγῶν. It precedes

their own formal responsibility. On the best interpretation of the evidence, as Kolbe rightly affirms, the Aetolian Soteria were penteteric. On the best interpretation of the *agonic* records the Amphictyonic Soteria were annual. Certainly in the years immediately preceding the appearance of the Aetolian *agonothetes* they were not penteteric. Contestants cannot have remained "boys" for thirteen or seventeen years. If, unlike Thespieae and Miletus in reorganizing the Museia and Didymeia, the Aetolians failed to link their Soteria to the preëxistent fête, we may assume that they did so deliberately: it was probably good policy, in seeking Panhellenic acceptance for their own fête, to represent it as a new creation. And they had all the more reason for affirming the essential originality of their project in that the earlier fête concerned the Amphictyones alone, while theirs was to comprehend all the Hellenes. They chose as the basis of their festival an exploit that was 25 years old because, doubtless, they had no more recent ground for an effective appeal. Curiously enough an Athenian official in the Macedonian service in c. a. 250 B. C. chose Antigonos' equally remote achievement in "saving the Hellenes from the barbarians" for a commemorative memorial (*IG*. II², 677). There was still stuff for Panhellenic propaganda in an episode which dated back a quarter of a century.

Thus far I have been unable to find much helpfulness in Kolbe's suggestions. What follows began with a conversation I had with him in Athens last summer, and I take pleasure in acknowledging my debt to him for indicating a new approach to an old problem. In our conversation he stressed the significance of the difference between the earliest caption preserved in the chronological portion of the inventory of Asklepios *IG*². II, 1534B and the rest of these captions. The former runs (ll. 203 f.): καὶ τὰ ἀναρ[εθέντα ἐφ' ἱερέως Λυσικλ]έου Συναληγντ; the others consist simply of καὶ τάδε ἐφ' ἱερέως Προκλέους Περ[α],

another phrase not found in the related texts, -νον τήν τε ἐπιφάνειαν τῶν θεῶν καὶ (Flacelière, *REA*. 1933, pp. 326 f.). I suggest that these phrases emanate from an Amphictyonic text formulated after the dispatch of the Aetolian *theori*. The amphictyones must have accepted the Aetolian foundation. Otherwise their names would not appear at the head of the records. Their jurisdiction over the fête is proved by Ditt. *Syll*³. 533?, 545, 598; *GDI*. 2528, 2529.

Λυκίου Παμνο, κτλ. Kolbe urged that with "and those dedicated in the priesthood of Lysikles of Sypalettos" we have to do not only with the earliest preserved record of chronologically arranged items but with the first in the entire series; inferring (1) that the inventory began when Lysikles was priest, and (2) that the archon P—, with whose year the inventory began (l. 145), was consequently synchronous with Lysikles.²⁷ Without making Kolbe's inferences I had often canvassed the possibility that this change of formula meant something, but was always deterred from accepting it by the lack of rigorous consistency displayed by Athenian scribes and specifically by the warning of *IG*². II, 1533 where a similar abbreviation of caption means nothing whatsoever.²⁸ There is now something further to be added.

The inventory consists of three sections: I, articles for use in cult (*Frg. ab* and π); II, dedications of the ordinary type; and III, dedications arranged chronologically by priesthoods. Since the articles in section II are indistinguishable in character, descriptions, and weights from those in section III, it has been assumed hitherto that they too were arranged chronologically under priesthoods, and that it is only because of the damage sustained by the stone that the captions separating one

²⁷ See now *Gött. Nach.* 1933, pp. 495 ff. where Kolbe develops his view more fully. He says (p. 496): Nur wenn man sich entschliesst, die Ergänzung Peithidemos anzunehmen und diesen Archon, wie Sundwall s. Z. vorschlug, 266/5 zu setzen, kommen die Priester (Phileas of Eitea and Kalliadēs of Aigilia) ins Jahr 263/2 zu stehen. Aber selbst wenn dieses Datum zutrifft, kann die Methode des Priestercyklus nicht als brauchbar bezeichnet werden, weil die Gleichung $263/2 = XII$ mit der überlieferten Gleichung, dass in Isaïos' Jahr ein Priester aus Phyle X fungiert hat, nicht in Uebereinstimmung zu bringen ist. My cycle of "allotted priests" between 288/7 and 277/6 B. C. he disposes of as a Notheilf. He cannot deny the reality of such cycles: demonstrably they existed not only for the prytanies but also for the archons and the priests of Hagne Aphrodite (*Athenian Tribal Cycles*, pp. 50 ff.; 162 ff.). And even if the appearance in Isaïos' archonship of a priest of Asklepios from Hippothontis (X) were an unexplained breach of cyclic regularity, I do not see how it can weigh with Kolbe against dating Lysikles the priest and Peithidemos the archon in 266/5 B. C., seeing that such breaks are precisely what he postulates.

²⁸ Lines 9 and 18 have τὰδε ἀνετέθη ἐπὶ Διοκλέους (Λυσιμάχου) ιερέ; line 29 has simply ἐπὶ Τιτίου ιερέ.

group from another are lacking. This assumption was legitimate, perhaps, when we had to do with the opening seventeen lines of *Frg. c-k* alone, the first of which had only twelve letters, the eighth only 44, while even the last three fell short of the full complement of c. 123 by over twenty letters; but now that *Frg. vo*, with 23 lines, the longest of which has 36 letters, has to be inserted in this part of the stone,²⁹ the total absence of group headings (*καὶ τὰ ἀραρεθέντα ἐφ' ἑτέρας* -- is what we should expect) can no longer be attributed to chance. Surely some one of them, if only in part, should be found in these fragments if they had ever been there. We have to do, I believe, at the opening of the inventory proper with an undivided aggregate of dedications, numerous enough to represent the accumulation of six or seven priesthoods,³⁰ and, seeing that *Frg. ab* and π do not form a join with *Frg. c-*, of as many more as we may desire. Since sections II and III contain offerings attributed to ten priests serving earlier than Lysikles, we naturally think that the dedications of ten priesthoods (at least) were involved in this aggregate. Since this inventory cannot have contained dedications made before the last inventory was completed, it follows that *IG². II, 1534A* stopped ten years (at least) before Lysikles was priest.

How shall we account for the intervening block of dedications? There are two possibilities: (1) that the Commissioners in charge of the inventory began by listing the dedications regardless of the priesthoods in which they were dedicated, — in which case P— was archon ten years before Lysikles; (2) that P— was archon in the year of Lysikles or the year immediately before, the intervening block being the accumulation of dedications formed since the last inventorying and, in accordance with Athenian practice, handed over to his successor by the priest who had them in his charge. Accepting possibility (1) P— would remain in the year 376/5 B. C., where I have placed him in *Athenian Tribal Cycles* and in favor of this solution it may be urged that in the preceding inventory (*IG². II, 1534A*) the dedications were not listed chronologically by priesthoods. But

²⁹ *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, pp. 60, n. 1; 118 f.

³⁰ *Frg. vo* shows us that the minimum is not 17 lines (*frg. c-k*) but 23. For the estimate cf. Dinemoor, *Archons*, p. 157; Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, pp. 41 f.

the underlying assumption, that the Commissioners who drafted *IG². II, 1534B* took *IG². II, 1534A* as their model, will not hold. In *IG². II, 1534A* the dedications are grouped according to their positions in the temple, whereas those in *IG². II, 1534B*, section II, are not grouped at all. Moreover, this possibility leaves unexplained why the Commissioners, after having begun to list the dedications on one system (an extraordinary one at that), subsequently changed to another. Let us then turn to possibility (2). We have evidence that a *paradosis* was involved somehow in *IG². II, 1534B*. This is found in line 329 of *Frg. π*, which belongs to the neighborhood of *Frg. ab*.³¹ There we have the mutilated phrase *τάδε ὦμ παρε-*. It is obviously a caption and can be construed perfectly well as the caption of our ungrouped block. By whom was the *paradosis* made and to whom?³² The *ὦμ* is unparalleled in such formulae. It implies that two categories (at least) are involved. One must be the accumulation of past years. The transmitting priest may be Lysikles, as Kolbe surmised; in which case the second consisted of the articles entered some forty lines later under the caption *καὶ τὰ ἀνατ[εθέντα ἐφ' ἱερέως Λυσικλέ]ον Συναληττ* (*epeteia*, to use the language of the inventories of the fifth century). But the *ὦμ* seems to call for a less remote designation of the residue. If the block of ungrouped dedications consisted of one category only we should expect to find the normal caption *τάδε παρέδωκεν ὁ ἱερεὺς - - τῷ ἱερεῖ - - παραλαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως - -*, instead of the more complex heading introduced by *τάδε ὦμ παρε - -*. From the *ὦμ* we naturally infer that the caption itself contained a second member; and for the purpose of showing the possible construction and bringing out the meaning I suggest the following approximate restoration: *τάδε ὦμ παρέ[λαβεν παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως Τιμοκλέου Εἰρεσίδ τὰ ἀπὸ — ἄρχοντος*³³ *ἀνατεθέντα ὁ ἱερεὺς Ἀρχικλῆς Λακιάδ παρέδωκεν τῷ ἱερεῖ Λυσικλεῖ Συναληττ*]. The transmitting priest is then (as suggested in the restoration) the predecessor of Lysikles, Archikles of Lakiadai, — in which case he, and not

³¹ *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 38.

³² A *paradosis* by the last priest was basic for the entire inventory *IG². II, 1534A*; cf. Kolbe, *Hermes*, 1916, p. 545, n. 1; Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 154.

³³ According to the suggestion made in Appendix A, I should insert *Ξενοφώντας* here. Naturally this formula may have been abridged.

Lysikles, is synchronous with P—. The complexity of the formula may be attributed to the predicament of the Commissioners in that they were required to make their inventory begin with the dedications of P—'s archonship yet desired to include in it those which had accumulated since the last inventory was drafted. They attained their object, we may conclude, by entering at the beginning under a double-claused caption the entire content of the *traditio* made by the first priest to the second. There was no need of subdividing the *ex-votos* since all alike were subject to a single *paradosis*.

Provisionally, however, we may leave the question open whether P— was synchronous with Lysikles or Archikles, especially since we cannot be certain that *τάδε ὅμ παρ*- is the caption of section II. There seems to be no other group of which it *can* be the caption, for the caption of section I appears in line 166. But the stone is very much damaged. On any reasonable construction of the document it seems inevitable, once we restore P— as Peithidemos (see below), that he was synchronous with one or the other.

It is now high time to note a fact which we owe to the acumen of Mr. Sterling Dow. He noticed that the letter following the initial Π of the archon's name in line 145 of IG². II, 1534B (ἐ]ν τῷ Ἀσκληπιείῳ ἀπὸ Π—) is not omikron, as I had surmised,³⁴ or upsilon, as Dinsmoor conjectured,³⁵ but, as clear traces indicate, epsilon; and the reading was verified on the stone by Professor Meritt and myself. It so happens that the only archon-name beginning with Pe- which we possess for the third century is Peithidemos,³⁶ in office at the opening of the Chremonidean War. In *Athenian Tribal Cycles*³⁷ I left it an open question whether Peithidemos belonged in 270/69 (as Dinsmoor had concluded) or in 267/6 B. C.—the only alternative permitted by an unbroken system of secretary cycles.³⁸

³⁴ *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, pp. 42, n. 1; 81 ff.

³⁵ *Archons*, pp. 81, 155, 160.

³³ Cf. above, p. 320, n. 12.

³⁷ Pp. 73 ff. I withdraw the slight preference there expressed for 270/69 B. C.; cf. Kirchner, *Gnomon*, 1932, p. 453. IG². II, 1273, dated in the year after Nikias, may be restored [Ἐπὶ Παθιδήμ]ου; cf. Kirchner, note; Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 67.

³⁸ 265/4 B. C. is too late. 266/5 is preoccupied by Philokrates (IG². II, 684, 685), in whose year the philosopher Polemon died. Kolbe (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1933, p. 2222) is possibly right in saying

There can now, I think, be little doubt that he belongs in 267/6 B. C.³⁹ — the year preceding the priesthood of Lysikles of Sypallos. And the date thus won for Peithidemos confirms the date (266/5 B. C.) given by me to this priesthood. Fortified by yet another "coincidence" the list of priests of Asklepios stands as given by me in *Athenian Tribal Cycles* (pp. 23 f.).⁴⁰

that nach der Eusebianischen Ueberlieferung Polemon died in 270/69 or 268/7 B. C. When he actually died is another question. According to the same tradition (Jacoby, *FGH*, IIBD, p. 738) Zeno died either in 269/8, 268/7, or 264/3 B. C. Since he actually died in 262/1 B. C., I see no objection in placing the death of Polemon in 266/5 B. C. if the Tribal Cycles demand it. Naturally neither Dinsmoor nor I treat the archonship of Philokrates in 266/5 B. C. as a fixed point.

³⁹ Tarn (*loc. cit.* above, p. 321, n. 15) has now presented an unanswerable case against 270/69 B. C. The date of Areus' death (265 B. C.) is decisive. In Antipatros' archonship (263/2 B. C.) Rhamnus, as well as the Piraeus (Tarn), was in the hands of Antigonos (*IG*², II, 1217).

⁴⁰ According to Kolbe's arrangement of the archons between Philippos and 276/5 B. C. (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1933, p. 2224; *Hermes*, 1933, p. 454; *Gött. Nach.* 1933, p. 511) the official order was preserved in all three periods (comprising 8 of the 16 or 17 years) in which we have "closed sequences": (1) Diokles-Diotimos-Isaios-Euthios, (2) Menekles-Nikias-Otryneus, (3) Polyeuktos-Hieron, and broken at each interval as well as before and after (not necessarily immediately). It looks like a conspiracy to mislead. Since the purpose of the system was to secure equality of tribal representation in the secretarial office, it would have been absurd to use tribal rotation at all had such irregularities occurred. In postulating sporadic breaches of cycles Kolbe seems to me to ignore the inevitability that the *phylae* saw to it that they should secure their turns when they were due. The system of tribal rotation, fundamental in Athenian public law, permitted inequalities of representation only when new cycles were inaugurated. It would have broken down entirely if this was done frequently or with insufficient motivation. When a new beginning was made, as in 263/2, 201/0, and 110/09 B. C., other considerations than cyclic continuity might enter in. Incidentally, I should like to observe that the seeming impossibility of finding a place in the priestly cycle for Leonides of Phlya (V), priest of Asklepios in *IG*², II, 1019, is due solely to a mistake in interpreting this document shared by Kolbe (*Gött. Nach.* 1933, p. 487) with his predecessors, including myself. There is not the slightest reason for the assumption commonly made that Leonides was priest in the archonship of Ple[istainos]. Among the *ἀναθήματα*, some of them described as *ἀρχαία*, which were to be repaired by a Commission appointed in Leonides' priesthood appears an object dedicated by the ephebes of Ple[istainos]' year. Manifestly, Ple[istainos] may have been archon any number of years before Leonides.

Consequently Diomedon belongs in 253/2⁴¹ and Polyuktos in 255/4 B. C.⁴²

Why the Council and People decided in 253/2 B. C. to begin the inventory in Peithidemos' archonship, instead of nine years earlier where *IG*². II, 1534A had left off, we can only surmise. It may have been because in this year the Chremonidean War began, thus inaugurating a new epoch in the history of Athens; it may have been because an inventory covering the decade 276/5-267/6 B. C. had been compiled already, awaiting inscription on stone; it may have been because in 267/6 B. C. a new secretary-cycle began, for the Council and People were more prone to observe secretarial than priestly periods in beginning and ending records. Whatever the reason, we see that the Commissioners conformed to their orders, yet by listing under Peithidemos' year the accumulation of *ex-votos* for the nine years since the last inventory was inscribed, they obviated a *lacuna* in their record and increased the amount of gold and silver to be melted down for the making of new articles of cult. In any case the total inventory was made to cover two priestly cycles precisely.

APPENDIX A (above, p. 321, n. 16).

Kolbe (*Gött. Nach.* 1933, pp. 483 ff.) escapes from this *impasse* by moving Philippos back to 293/2 B. C., but enters it again by dating Xenophon before 271/0 B. C. I quite agree with him as to Xenophon. Beloch's transfer of this archon to the Macedonian epoch (252/1 B. C.; cf. *Griech. Gesch.* IV 2, pp. 86, 96) was rash: it involves the emergence of Phaidros of Sphettos as a dominating political figure after twenty years of retirement, and his tenure of the chief generalship when, if alive, he must have been eighty years of age; cf. Kirchner, *Chremon*, 1932, p. 453. The year 276/5 B. C. has now become free for Xenophon.

⁴¹ See Appendix B, pp. 334 ff.

⁴² Kolbe's argument (*Hermes*, 1933, pp. 447 f.) that the Aetolian Soteria were founded in a non-Pythian year is inconclusive. It takes account of one possibility, neglecting another which suggests itself as probable to any one conversant with the habits of political meetings: that, since the Chians were assembled and had voted to send *theori* to the Soteria, they should have selected them for the first celebration of the fête at once, before adjourning, and not have postponed this action till the stated time for selecting *theori* for the Pythia. In the future no occasion for meeting separately for the election of the new *theori* was contemplated or desired.

In *IG². II, 1534A*, l. 8, we have ἐπὶ, not ἐπ' 'E as in the *Corpus*. This was observed by Mr. Sterling Dow and verified on the stone by Professor Meritt and myself. E[ubulos] accordingly disappears from this record. The honorary decree for Phaidros was passed in, or shortly after, 262/1 B. C. When Xenophon is placed in 276/5 B. C. Phaidros becomes the "first" hoplite-general of Athens after the accession of Antigonos to the throne of Macedon. In the circumstances in which *IG². II, 682* was passed no better explanation of πρῶτος in line 44 is possible. (274/3 B. C. was suggested in *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, pp. 71 ff. because 276/5 B. C. seemed preoccupied by P., for which see now above, pp. 328-331). The excision of lines 48-52 is intelligible, when Xenophon is dated in 276/5 B. C., if they recorded Phaidros' success in effecting an adjustment between Athens and Macedon at this critical moment.

Kolbe's case for making Olympiodoros archon twice in the one year 294/3 B. C. needs further consideration. I was surprised to read his affirmation (*Gött. Nach.* 1933, p. 508): Dagegen ist mehrfach bezeugt, dass ein im Laufe seines Amtsjahres bestätigter *Eponymos* als ὑστερος oder δεύτερος bezeichnet wird, *IG². II, 644* Nikias *hysteros*. I can find no example in Attic decrees of a second case of ὑστερος, or any instance in which δεύτερος occurs in the sense in which ὑστερος is used in *IG². II, 644*; δεύτερος, in substitution for ἐμβόλιμος, is used as a synonym for ὑστερος in records of the second century B. C. That is all. What is more, the decree published by Dinsmoor (*Archons*, pp. 7 ff. = *IG². II, 649*) and *IG². II, 389*, both enacted on the last day of Munychion, when taken together and construed as by Dinsmoor and Kolbe (p. 508), show that the year of these decrees was not divided as 296/5 B. C. was: there was seemingly no second Council. Let us examine the matter a little more closely. In the one decree the last day of Munychion synchronizes with the first day of the tenth prytany, in the other with the first day of the eleventh prytany. If δεκάτης had appeared as the number of the prytany in *IG². II, 389*, in which Olympiodoros is termed δεύτερος, and ἐνδεκάτης in Dinsmoor's new inscription, in which Olympiodoros is found without δεύτερος, we might assume, on the analogy of *IG². II, 644*, that a second Council *did* exist, beginning at the end of the first prytany-month of the year. But the reverse is the case. There is, indeed, a chance that the scribe of Dinsmoor's decree, following, possibly, official construction, ignored altogether the twelfth of the calendar year 294/3 B. C. prior to the revolution postulated to account not only for δεύτερος and the reëmergence of *anagrapheis* but also for the addition of Demetriaia to the urban Dionysia and the disappearance of the *exetastes* and trittyrachs as budgeting officials (cf. *IG². II, 646*, and Dinsmoor's new decree); and, hence, numbered the eleventh prytany "tenth" and failed to designate Olympiodoros as "second". A remodelling of the Athenian government in August, 294 B. C., with reminiscences of the oligarchy of 321-319 B. C., would not be untimely, seeing that it would synchronize pretty closely with the seizure of the

Macedonian throne by Poliorcetes (*Class. Phil.* 1929, pp. 20 ff.). There is also a chance, however, that *δεκάτης* is simply a scribal error, as Dinsmoor and Kolbe assume. If there was no second Council, why should there have been a second term for the archon? If there was a second term for the archon, the *anagrapheus* doubtless belonged to the second part of the year alone: there should have been a secretary for the first portion; and he should belong to the twelfth *phyle*. But, like the archon and the first prytany, he might have been assumed not to exist.

If Dinsmoor's restoration of *IG². II, 389, ll. 1 f.* (*ἀρχοντος δευτέρου* *ἔτος*) should give way to Kolbe's (*ἀρχοντος δευτέ[ρου ἐπὶ]*), as seems to me probable despite the fact that *ἐπὶ* is one space too short for the *lacuna*, Dinsmoor's contention that Olympiodoros was archon in two distinct years is not to be excluded. It is true that Greek usage favors *τὸ δεύτερον* for a second year. Examples abound in the Delphian inscriptions, and from Athens we have the instance cited by Kolbe, *Μήδειος τὸ δεύτερον* (*Ath. Mitt.*, 1898, p. 26; cf. *τὸ Β'*, *Hesperia*, 1933, pp. 505 ff., no. 17). But the Parian Chronicle (Jacoby, *FGH. IIB*, p. 998) presents us with *ἀρχοντοῖς Ἀθήνησι Δαμασίου τοῦ δευτέρου*. I think that we cannot be certain that *δευτέρου* does not mean "for a second year". And, after all, the archon-list in Dion. Hal. *de Dinarcho* is one name too short without a second Olympiodoros.

Kolbe's restoration of *IG². II, 373, [Ἐπὶ Φιλίππου ἀρχοντος καὶ ἀναγραφέως, κτλ.]*, is undoubtedly better than Dinsmoor's [*Ἐπὶ Ὀλυμπιοδότην ἀρχοντος ἀναγραφέως, κτλ.*]. The asyndeton is harsh. We have, I believe, to concede that the regime which supplanted *grammateis* with *anagrapheis* existed in the middle of Philippos' year. Its discontinuance was probably a consequence of the recall of the exiles by Poliorcetes in that archonship.

So far as the Tribal Cycles are concerned Philippos can be dated in 233/2 B. C. without disturbing the sequence which begins with Antigonis (I) in 291/0 B. C. We shall have to leave the secretary-quality of 292/1 B. C. undetermined. The year may have been given to Antiochis (XII) in compensation for its loss of the office in 294/3 B. C. The adjustment would be yet simpler should we assign two years to Olympiodoros: we should assume that in the first year of this archon, no documents being extant, the secretary functioned as usual and came from Antiochis (XII).

APPENDIX B (above, p. 332, n. 41).

Kolbe makes the Diomedon of *IG². II, 1534B* a second archon of this name (*Hermes*, 1923, p. 454, n. 3). This is a necessary corollary to dating Polyektos in 277/6 B. C.; otherwise the priest of Asklepios for the archonship of Isaios (*IG². II, 1163*) would collide with one of the priests in the "closed sequence" Lysikles-Boiskos. If the last letter of line 4 of *IG². II, 791* cannot be a delta, I should agree with Kolbe; but the stone itself is, to say the least, ambiguous. There is a

cross-bar in this letter. No one who has examined the stone can deny the fact. The sole question is as to its interpretation. The cross-bar was there when the stone was discovered (Dow, *Hesperia*, 1933, p. 428, n. 5). As pointed out in *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, pp. 16 ff. (where Dow is responsible for everything written to the end of the paragraph), it is fainter than the uprights and shows only slight traces of the normal discoloration at its bottom; but these characteristics are accounted for by the flaking of the surface of the stone near the break. Skilled epigraphists who have studied the stone, like Meritt and Dow, do not doubt that a delta is possible, and Roussel (*REA*, 1924, pp. 98 ff.; 1932, p. 198, n. 9) goes farther.

Kolbe (*Gött. Nach.*, 1933, p. 500) finds in *IG*². II, 834 proof that the Diomedon of *IG*². II, 791 belongs later than 253/2 B. C. I should agree with him if his interpretation of the text were certain: Eurykleides cannot have had a son 30 years of age in 253/2 B. C. unless he were between 90 and 100 in 211/0 B. C.; yet in this year he was still active politically. The opening lines of *IG*². II, 834 run as follows:

στρατιώτ[. . . ἐ]γλεί[πο]ντ[α - - - - -]
 ἐπιμέλειαν· [κα]ὶ τὴν τῶν στρατι[ωτικῶν ταμείαν διε]-
 ξήγαγεν διὰ τοῦ νόου καὶ προανήλωσεν [κ]αὶ [αὐτὸς οὐ]-
 κ ὀλίγα χρήματα· καὶ ἀγνωθότης ὑπακούσας, κτλ.

I owe the readings of line 1 to Mr. Dow; also the determination that ταμείαν (suggested by Hiller, Ditt. *Syll*³. 497, n. 1) satisfies the requirement of space in line 2 better than ἀρχήν. If this text can mean only what Kolbe alleges—that Eurykleides, when he conducted the treasurer-ship through his son, was himself *tamias* and his son simply his agent—it is most improbable that he was *tamias* in 253/2 B. C. But if it can mean that his son was the official holder of the office while he himself not only put him forward as a candidate but also advanced him funds (προανήλωσεν), we should have to infer two things: (1) that Eurykleides had been *tamias* already, and (2) that he can have been *tamias* as early as 253/2 B. C. I think that τὴν - - - ταμείαν διεξήγαγεν διὰ τοῦ νόου will bear this meaning. The alternative—that an official should turn over to his son the office to which he had been elected and record the transfer in a claim for public recognition—is unparalleled, and would have been needlessly provocative. The transaction must have been challenged at his *euthymia*. There is surely no indication in *IG*². II, 791 that the son replaced the father: he does not even appear among the contributors there listed. The broken text of line 1, with which τὴν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ταμείαν is connected by καὶ, can concern another office previously held by Eurykleides: καὶ is the copulative commonly used in this decree. This office may have been Eurykleides' own treasurer-ship; in which case the construction given by me to διεξήγαγεν διὰ τοῦ νόου becomes imperative. Eurykleides could not have been *tamias* twice: double tenure of this office by the same person is unknown. Evasion of the prohibition against iteration by putting forward a son as the nominal holder is well attested (*IG*². II, 834, l. 8; 682, ll. 56 ff.).

But the broken text permits various restorations, and the one which suits best the traces of letters and the requirements of space is perhaps στρατιώτ[ας τὰ ἐ]γγλε[πο]ντ[α - -] ἐπιμέλειαν. The office may, therefore, have been a generalship (cf. for ἐπιμέλειαν used of a military office *IG². II, 1299, l. 56*).

It must be added that Dow (*Hesperia*, 1933, p. 442, n. 1) has given an additional reason for not dating *IG². II, 791* in the neighborhood of 229 B. C. He observes that, although this record preserves 62 names with demotics of leading men of Athens and *IG². II, 1706* (230/29—213/2 B. C.) preserves 92, "neither list repeats a single name-plus-demotic of the other."

Whether there were two Diomedons or only one is still an open question.

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SUETONIUS, *AUGUSTUS*, II, 2.

In his *Lives* Suetonius is careful to give, where possible, information about the ancestry of the emperors. This information is not always accurate. For example, in *Nero* II he ascribes to a single man the activities of Cn. Domitius, consul in 122 B. C., and of his son of the same name, consul in 96 B. C. This error has been commented upon frequently, but no one seems to have noticed an almost certain error in his account of the great-grandfather of Augustus. The passage is as follows:

Primus ex hac (gente) magistratum populi suffragio cepit C. Rufus. Is quaestorius Cn. et C. procreavit, a quibus duplex Octavio-
rum familia defluxit condicione diversa, siquidem Gnaeus et deinceps ab eo reliqui omnes functi sunt honoribus summis; at Gaius eiusque posterum, seu fortuna seu voluntate, in equestri ordine constiterunt usque ad Augusti patrem. Proavus Augusti secundo Punico bello stipendia in Sicilia tribunus militum fecit Aemilio Papo imperatore (Suet., *Aug.* II, 2).

Except for the praenomen of Rufus, Drumann accepted this without question, and the same is true of Groebe's revision of Drumann, as well as of Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography* and of Shuckburgh's edition of Suetonius' *Augustus*, both of which go back to the old Drumann.¹ In view of this unanimity in what appears to be an error, it may be worth while to examine the matter.

The L. Aemilius Papus under whom the ancestor of Augustus served as military tribune was praetor in Sicily in 205 B. C.² We do not know the normal age for the military tribunes at this time, but when the later Africanus held this office in 216 at the age of twenty, he was regarded as very young,³ and to judge from other examples found in Livy's third decade, the average in-

¹ W. Drumann, *Geschichte Roms in Seinem Uebergange von der Republikanischen zur Monarchischen Verfassung*, 1834-44, IV, pp. 218 ff.; the same, revised by P. Groebe, 1902-29, IV, pp. 234 ff.; W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, 1899, III, pp. 6 ff.; E. S. Shuckburgh, *C. Suetoni Tranquilli Divus Augustus*, 1896, p. 3.

² Livy, XXVIII, 38, 11-13.

³ Livy, XXII, 53, 3.

terval between the military tribunate and the praetorship was about five years. It is safe to say that this Octavius was at least 25 years old in 205, and therefore that he was born in 230 or earlier. But according to Suetonius he was the great-grandfather⁴ of Augustus, who was born in 63. That gives 167 years for the three generations, an average of nearly 56 years for each generation. While possible, this is extremely improbable, especially as the recurrence of the praenomen Gaius⁵ suggests that in each generation we are dealing with the eldest son, and we can hardly escape the conclusion that Suetonius has missed at least a generation. If we add one more generation, we still get an average length of 42 years, which is rather long, but within reason. Another additional generation is needed to reduce the average length to 33 years, which is considered normal.

Suetonius tells us that the first Octavius to hold high office was Gnaeus, son of the quaestor C. Octavius Rufus. This Gnaeus has been identified with certainty as the praetor of 205,⁶ who had been military tribune at Cannae in 216.⁷ However, if the Cn. Octavius Cn. f. Cn. n., who was consul in 165,⁸ is his son, Rufus' praenomen was not Gaius but Gnaeus, and Drumann is quite certainly right in believing that the C. in Suetonius is an error for Cn. The quaestorship of Rufus would have been about 230. Suetonius seems to place at least one generation between Rufus and Gaius, the military tribune of 205. This is not necessary and seems improbable. The failure of Gaius to advance to higher office (even if we allow four generations from him to Augustus, it can hardly be supposed that he died young) suggests a lack of ability or ambition or both,

⁴ It is true that *proavus* may mean "ancestor," but here where it stands at the beginning of one sentence contrasted in a way typical of Suetonius with *avus* at the beginning of the next, it must have its regular meaning of "great-grandfather." It seems always to have been so understood, e. g., in the translations of Forester, Stahr, Rolfe, and Rat.

⁵ Cf. C. I. L., I², p. 199: C. Octavius C. f. Cn. n. C. pr. pater Augusti.

⁶ Livy, XXVIII, 38, 11-13. Cf. Drumann-Groebe, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

⁷ Frontinus, *Strat.*, IV, 5, 7. Some of the older editions here read C. Octavius against the better Mss. which have Cn. Misled by this Drumann identified the military tribune of 216 with Gaius, the military tribune of 205. The error was repeated by Smith but corrected by Shuckburgh. Groebe, however, let it stand in the revised Drumann.

⁸ C. I. L., I², p. 146.

and makes it more likely that he was the brother, younger but not very young, of the praetor of 205, rather than his very young nephew. A probable conclusion is that Suetonius is correct about the number of generations from Rufus to Augustus, but places the military tribune one generation too late. Drumann and those who follow him give as the stemma of Augustus: Cn. Octavius Rufus (quaestor about 230), C. Octavius, C. Octavius (military tribune in 205), C. Octavius, C. Octavius (praetor in 61), Augustus. In place of this I suggest the following: Cn. Octavius Rufus (quaestor in 230), C. Octavius (military tribune in 205), C. Octavius, C. Octavius, C. Octavius (praetor in 61), Augustus. It is equally possible, however, that Suetonius has missed one generation entirely, and that we should add still another Octavius between the military tribune and the praetor.

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PINDAR'S FIGURATIVE USE OF PLANTS.

[A study of the figurative use of plants in the poems and fragments of Pindar shows that this poet was unusually fond of such figures, which he employed in great variety.]

Gildersleeve, in his excellent edition of Pindar's Olympian and Pythian Odes,¹ makes the following statement with regard to the word *κατεφυλλορόησε* (*Ol.* xii, 15): "The *τιμά* thus becomes a flower. It has been noticed that P. [=Pindar] draws few of his figures from the world of plants." He points this out in no other connection, and a statement appearing in the introductory essay under "Metaphor" may contradict it: "Every realm of nature, every sphere of human life, is laid under contribution."² In speaking of Pindar's elevation he has himself used a figure from the world of plants: "the fruits that grow on the topmost branches of the tree of virtue."³

A careful examination of the poems themselves will reveal the fact that Pindar is very fond of such figures. Gildersleeve seems to recognize this in at least one instance besides that quoted above. He translates the phrase: *χειρῶν ἄωτον βλεψιάδαις ἐπ' ἕνικον* (*Ol.* viii, 75) by "the fruit of their victorious hands."⁴ In the extant poems, including the fragments published by Schroeder, there are no fewer than one hundred and five examples of the figurative use of words which connote plants, some part of them, or some act connected with them. Not only are they numerous, but they are also varied, and every conceivable idea associated with plants is represented.

There are ten examples of the use of the word for "seed" (*σπέρμα*), in the figurative sense: (1) *ὅθεν σπέρματος . . τὸν Αἰνησιδάμου* (*Ol.* ii, 50 f.); (2) *αἰθοίσας ἔχοντες σπέρμ' ἀέβαν ὀλογὸς οὐ* (*Ol.* vii, 48); (3) *σπέρμ' ἀπὸ Καλλιάνακτος* (*Ol.* vii, 93); (4) *ἔχεν δὲ σπέρμα μέγιστον ἄλοχος* (*Ol.* ix, 61); (5) *σπέρμα θεοῦ φαθαρόν* (*Py.* iii, 15); (6) *πῦρ ἐξ ἑνὸς σπέρματος* (*Py.* iii, 36 f.);

¹ New York, 1890².

² P. xlii. The citations from Pindar in this article are taken from Otto Schroeder's second Teubner edition (Leipzig, 1914) and his numbering is followed.

³ *Ibid.*, xxxix.

⁴ *Ad loc.*, p. 199. But see below, p. 344.

(7) ἄφθιτον . . . Λιβύας εὐρυχόρου σπέρμα (*Py.* iv, 42 f.); (8) σπέρμ' . . . ὄλβον (*Py.* iv, 255); (9) σπέρμ' ἀδείμαντον φέρων Ἡρακλέος (*Nem.* x, 17); (10) σπέρμα θνατὸν (*Nem.* x, 81). In two other instances Pindar uses the cognate verb of sowing (σπείρω): (1) σπείρέ νυν ἀγλαΐαν τινὰ (*Nem.* i, 13); and (2) μομφὰν δ' ἐπισπείρων ἀλιτροῖς (*Nem.* viii, 39).

Four figures refer to the root (ρίζα): (1) ἔχοντα ρίζαν . . . τὸν Αἰησιδάμου (*Ol.* ii, 50 f.); (2) ἀστέων ρίζαν (*Py.* iv, 15); (3) ρίζαν . . . θάλλουσιν (*Py.* ix, 8); (4) ρίζαν πρόφαινε (*Isth.* viii, 55). Four others refer to leaves: (1) φυλλοφόρων ἀπ' ἀγώνων (*Ol.* viii, 76); (2) ἀκλεῆς τιμὰ κατεφυλλορόησε ποδῶν (*Ol.* xii, 15—this example is noted by Gildersleeve); (3) φύλλ' ἀοιδᾶν (*Isth.* iv, 27); (4) νεκρῶν πέταλα (*Isth.* viii, 43).

In seven instances the figure is taken from the young shoot (θάλος or ἔρνος): (1) Ἀδραστιδᾶν θάλος ἀργῶν δόμοις (*Ol.* ii, 49); (2) σεμνὸν θάλος Ἀλκαῖδᾶν (*Ol.* vi, 68); (3) κλεινᾶν Συρακοσῶν θάλος (*Nem.* i, 2); (4) ἔρνεσι Λατοῦς (*Nem.* vi, 37); (5) κοινὸν θάλος (*Isth.* vii, 24); (6) Λατοῦς ἱμεροέστατον ἔρνος (*Frag.* 87, 1); (7) ὦν θάλεσσιν ἐν κείμαι (*Frag.* *104d, 48).

The figures referring to flowers may be divided into two types: (a) those which contain the word flower (ἄνθος or ἄνθεμον), and (b) those which consist of the same root qualified by a prefix. Of type *a* there are six examples: (1) ἄνθεμα δὲ χρυσοῦ φλέγει (*Ol.* ii, 79); (2) ἐμῶν δ' ὕμνων . . . εὐτερπὲς ἄνθος (*Ol.* vi, 105)⁵; (3) ἄνθεα δ' ὕμνων νεωτέρων (*Ol.* ix, 48 f.); (4) ἄνθος ἦβας (*Py.* iv, 158); (5) τὰ τέρπν' ἄνθε' Ἀφροδίσια (*Nem.* vii, 53); (6) (σώ)φρονος ἄνθεσιν εὐνομίας (*Frag. of Paeon to Thebans*, 10). Of type *b* there are ten examples: (1) πρὸς εὐάνθεμον . . . φυάν (*Ol.* i, 67); (2) εὐάνθης Μετώπα (*Ol.* vi, 84); (3) ὦραι πολύνανθεμοι (*Ol.* xiii, 17); (4) εὐανθεῖ δ' ἐν ὀργᾷ παρμένων (*Py.* i, 89); (5) ὅτε φοινικανθέμου ἦρος ἀκμᾷ (*Py.* iv, 64); (6) οἰνάνθας ὀπώραν (*Nem.* v, 6b); (7) λευκανθέα σώμασι (*Nem.* ix, 23); (8) εὐανθεῖ σὺν ὄλβῳ (*Isth.* v, 12); (9) εὐανθέ' ἀπέπνευσας ἀλικίαν (*Isth.* vii, 34); (10) εὐάνθης ἅπας τέθαλεν ὄλβος (*Frag.* 129, 5).

Pindar is very fond of the word ἄωτος which is frequently to be translated into English by the phrase "the finest flower."

⁵ J. B. Bury: *The Nemean Odes of Pindar* (London, 1890), pp. xii f., refers to the dominant idea of the flower in this passage and in the sixth Olympian as a whole.

The fundamental idea in the word seems to be, however, "the choicest" since it is used in Homer of wool (*Il.* xiii, 599 and 716; *Od.* i, 443), and of linen (*Il.* ix, 661); by Apollonius of Rhodes, it is used of the golden fleece (iv, 176), by Callimachus of water (*Hymn to Apollo*, 112), and of a wave (*Hecale*, i, 43), and by Simonides (148) of a rose. In Pindar it is used of music (*Ol.* i, 15), of fathers (*Ol.* ii, 3), of horses (*Ol.* iii, 3 f.), of hands (*Ol.* viii, 75), and of many other words, always in the sense of choicest, or as "the flower." The plant-idea is, however, inherent only in the English translation and does not belong to the Greek root. The expression "first-fruits" in *I Corinthians* (xv, 20) is not a translation of *ἅνθοι* but of *ἀπαρχή*.

Eleven examples refer to fruit (*καρπός*): (1) *καρπὸν Ἥβας* (*Ol.* vi, 58); (2) *γλυκὺν καρπὸν φρενός* (*Ol.* vii, 8); (3) *φρενῶν ἔλαχε καρπὸν ἀμώμητον* (*Py.* ii, 73 f.); (4) *Ἥβας καρπὸν* (*Py.* ix, 109 f.); (5) *κλυτοκάρπων οὐ νέοντ' ἄνευ στεφάνων* (*Nem.* iv, 75 f.); (6) *φρενῶν καρπὸν* (*Nem.* x, 12); (7) *ἐπέων δὲ καρπός* (*Isth.* viii, 45 f.); (8) *ἀγλαοκάρπους . . . Ὄρας* (*Frag. of hymn to Thebans*, 6); (9) *μαλθακᾶς ὥρας ἀπὸ καρπὸν δρέπεσθαι* (*Frag.* 122, 8); (10) *σοφίας καρπὸν δρέπ(ειν)* (*Frag.* 209); (11) *πραπίδων καρπὸν* (*Frag.* 211). Two examples of the figure of the fruit-season occur: (1) *οἰνάνθας ὀπώραν* (*Nem.* v, 6b); and (2) *Ἀφροδίτας . . . ὀπώραν* (*Isth.* ii, 4 f.). In only one instance does Pindar use the idea of grass in a figurative sense: *ἐκ λεχέων . . . μελιαδέα ποίαν* (*Py.* ix, 37).

In addition to the two cases of the use of the verb of sowing already noticed above, there are eleven instances of the verb of planting or causing to grow (*φυτεύω*): (1) *ἀστέων ῥίζαν φυτεύεσθαι* (*Py.* iv, 15); (2) *θεόπομποί σφισιν τιμαὶ φύτευθεν* (*Py.* iv, 39); (3) *ἄμμες αὖ κείνων φυτευθέντες* (*Py.* iv, 144); (4) *γένος Εὐδάμου φυτευθὲν* (*Py.* iv, 256); (5) *πατὴρ δὲ θυγατρὶ φυτεύων κλεινὸν-ερον γάμον* (*Py.* ix, 111 f.); (6) *φύτεναι οἱ θάνατον* (*Nem.* iv, 59); (7) *Ζητὸς ἥρωας αἰχματὰς φυτευθέντας* (*Nem.* v, 7); (8) *Ἀκόντων . . . φυτεῦσαι* (*Nem.* vii, 84); (9) *φυτευθεὶς ὄλβιος* (*Nem.* viii, 17); (10) *δαίμων φυτεύει δόξαν* (*Isth.* vi, 12); (11) *χάρων ἐοιδᾶ φυτεύει* (*Frag.* 141, 2).

The idea of growth is represented by Pindar's most developed simile taken from plants: *αὔξεται δ' ἀρετὰ, χλωραῖς ἐέρσαις ὥς ὅτε δένδρεον ᾗσσει* (*Nem.* viii, 40).

There are twenty-three examples of verbs with the idea of

blooming or flourishing (βλαστάνω or θάλλω or ἀνθέω): (1) βλάσσει μὲν ἐξ ἁλὸς ἡγρᾶς νᾶσος (*Ol.* vii, 69 f.); (2) θάλλει δ' ἀρεταῖσιν (*Ol.* ix, 16); (3) ἐκ θεοῦ δ' ἀνὴρ σοφαῖς ἀνθεῖ πραπίδεσσιν ὁμοίως (*Ol.* xi, 10); (4) ἐν δ' Ἄρης ἀνθεῖ (*Ol.* xiii, 23); (5) ὦν κλέος ἀνθησεν αἰχμᾶς (*Py.* i, 66); (6) θάλλει . . . Ἀρκεσίλας (*Py.* iv, 65); (7) θάλλουσιν εὐδαιμονίαν (*Py.* vii, 21); (8) ῥίζαν . . . θάλλουσιν (*Py.* ix, 8); (9) Ἦβας καρπὸν ἀνθήσαντ' (*Py.* ix, 109 f.); (10) ἀγάνορα πλοῦτον ἀνθεῖν (*Py.* x, 18); (11) θαλερὰν Ἦβαν ἄκοιτιν (*Nem.* i, 71); (12) θάλησε Κορινθίοις σελίνους (*Nem.* iv, 88); (13) ἐβλασθεν δ' νῖος Οἰνῶνας (*Nem.* viii, 7); (14) ἄστυ . . . θάλησεν (*Nem.* x, 41-42); (15) ὄλβος . . . θάλλων (*Isth.* iii, 5 f.); (16) Κλεωνυμίδαι θάλλοντες (*Isth.* iv, 4); (17) θάλλουσ' ἀρετὰ (*Isth.* v, 17); (18) θάλλοντος . . . συμποσίου (*Isth.* vi, 1); (19) χρυσέα κόμα θάλλων (*Isth.* vii, 49); (20) θάλλει μαλακαῖς ἐ(ὕ)δαί(ς) (*Frag. of Paeon to Abderitans*, 52); (21) θάλλουσα . . . κάρα (*Frag.* *104d, 32); (22) εὐανθὴς ἅπας τέθαλεν ὄλβος (*Frag.* 129, 5); (23) ἐπεφνεν θάλλοντας ἦβη (*Frag.* 171, 2).

There are ten examples of the figurative use of the idea of plucking or reaping (δρέπω or κείρω): (1) τιμὰν οἶαν οὔτις Ἑλλάνων δρέπει (*Py.* i, 49); (2) δραπεὼν . . . ἱερὸν εὐζῶας ἄωτον (*Py.* iv, 130 f.); (3) κείραι μελιαδέα ποίαν (*Py.* ix, 37); (4) Ἦβας καρπὸν ἀνθήσαντ' ἀποδρέψαι (*Py.* ix, 109 f.); (5) δρέπεσθαι κάλιστον ἄωτον . . . νικᾶν (*Nem.* ii, 9); (6) τὰν τ' ἐαριδρόπων αἰοιδᾶν (*Frag.* 75, 6); (7) μαλθακᾶς ὥρας ἀπὸ καρπὸν δρέπεσθαι (*Frag.* 122, 8); (8) ἐρώτων δρέπεσθαι (*Frag.* 123, 1); (9) δραπεόντες . . . λυσίπονον τελετάν (*Frag.* 131, 1); (10) σοφίας καρπὸν δρέπ(ειν) (*Frag.* 209).

Three examples belong to a final group: παῖδα ἰώπλοκον Εὐάδναν (*Ol.* vi, 30); (2) ἰοπλοκάμων . . . Μοισῶν (*Py.* i, 1); (3) ἰοπλόκοισι Μοῖσαις (*Isth.* vii, 23). There is some doubt as to whether Evadne and the Muses are to be regarded as having violet-coloured hair (whatever that colour may be) or as having violets in their hair. The weight of probability, however, is in favour of the former inasmuch as Bacchylides (viii [ix], 3) refers to the Muses as ἰοβλεφάρων. The eyes are not susceptible of the latter interpretation, and it is therefore probable that ἰοπλόκαμος means hair of violet hue.

It will be noticed that these figures are well distributed throughout the odes and are not confined to any group. Only nine of the forty-five epinician odes have none: *Ol.* iv, x, xiv;

Py. v, vi, viii, xi, xii, and *Nem.* xi. The earliest of these odes⁶ was written in 490 B. C. and the latest in 446 B. C. (?), from which facts it is evident that Pindar's use of these figures is not confined to any period of his artistic development.

Farnell's translation in several instances uses figures from plants where Pindar's original has no such idea: (1) ὦν ἔραται καιρὸν διδούς (*Py.* i, 57) = "giving him the fair harvest of all his heart's desire"; (2) ὕμνον . . . τὸν ἐδέξαντ' ἀμφ' ἀρετῇ (*Py.* i, 79 f.) = "The praise that they have reaped"; (3) Ὁ πονήσας δὲ νόῳ καὶ προμάθειαν φέρει (*Isth.* i, 40) = "The mind reapeth prudence as the fruit of trouble past"; (4) οἶδεν δὲ διέσδοτον ἀρχάν (*Frag.* 137) = "And he knoweth that its first seeds were of God's giving"; (5) στάσιν ἀπὸ πραπίδος ἐπικότον ἀνελών (*Frag.* 109) = "Let him uproot from his own breast the wrathful faction spirit." Such changes in no sense mar the excellence of his translation which comes nearest of any translation to rendering the full beauty of Pindar's lines in English. Sandys⁷ occasionally fails to preserve the plant figure which the original words of Pindar give, as, for example, βλάσ τε . . . νᾶτος (*Ol.* vii, 70) = ". . . arose an island . . ."

In the fragments of Bacchylides likewise are to be found figures from plants. There are twenty-two examples which may be classified under the same headings as the figures in Pindar:⁸ (1) φέρων [εὐδ]αιμονίας πέταλον (v, 185 f.); (2) ἡ βορῶν τρωῦτον ἔρνος θρέψεν (v, 87); (3) ὄλβον κάλλιστ' . . . ἄνθεα (iii, 92-94); (4) Νίκας . . . ἄνθεα (xii, 60); (5) παιγόνων ἄνθεα (xv, 8 f.); (6) ἀοιδᾶν ἄνθεα (*Frag.* 4, 2); (7) ἐν κυανανθεί . . . πόντῳ (xii, 124); (8) ἄκαρπον ἔχει πόνον (*Frag.* 11, 6); (9) σὲ . . . φύτευσεν Αἴθρα (xvi, 58 f.); (10) ἡ Περσίδες φύτευ[σαν . . .] καδέων ἀνάπαντο[ιν] (xviii, 35 f.); (11) Κάδμος Σεμέλ[αν φύτευσεν] (xviii,

⁶ According to the dating adopted by L. R. Farnell, *The Works of Pindar, translated, with literary and critical commentaries* (London, 1930), vol. I, translation and commentaries. There is doubt as to the date of *Py.* viii. See Gildersleeve's introduction to the ode, p. 324 f.

⁷ J. E. Sandys, *The Odes of Pindar* (Loeb Classical Library), London and New York, 1924.

⁸ Citations from Bacchylides are taken from the fourth edition by Blass and Suess in the Teubner series (Leipzig, 1912); those from Simonides are from E. Diehl's Teubner edition of the *Anthologia Lyrica* (Leipzig, 1924).

48); (12) Ἀρετὰ γὰρ ἐπανεομένα δένδρον ὥς ἀέξεται (*Frag.* *37B) closely paralleling the simile of Pindar (*Nem.* viii, 40); (13) θάλειαν αὖτις ἀγκομίσσαι ἦβαν (iii, 89 f.); (14) τόθεν γὰρ [ρ] πυθμένες θάλλουσιν ἐσθλ[ῶν] (v, 197-199); (15) ἐλπίδι χρυσέαι τέθαλεν (ix [x], 40); (16) θάλλει . . . Νίκας . . . ἄνθεα (xii [xiii], 58-60); (17) θάλλουσ' ἀθαμβῆς Ὑβρις (xiv, 58-59); (18) [ιοπλό]κων . . . Μουσᾶν (iii, 71); (19) Μουσᾶν γε (f)ιοβλεφάρων (viii [ix], 3); (20) ἰοπλοκον . . . [μ]ατ[έρ'] (viii [ix], 72); (21) ἰοπλοκοι . . . Νηρηΐδες (xvi, 37); (22) ἰοβλέφαροι . . . χάριτες (xviii, 5 f.).

The fragments of Simonides yield but a small harvest of these figures: (1) ἄνθος ἀοιδῶν (*Frag.* 127); (2) ὄφρα τις ἄνθος ἔχη πολυήρατον ἥβης (*Frag.* 97, 6); (3) ἰοπλοκάμων . . . θυγατρῶν (*Frag.* 30, 3), and one fragment included by J. M. Edmonds:⁹

“Οἷη περ φύλλον γενεή, τοιήδε καὶ ἀνδρῶν.”

The number of lines of Bacchylides and Simonides is not sufficient in either case to enable us to make any valuable comparison of these poets with Pindar, but it is certain that Pindar uses many and varied figures from plants, and it is probable that such figures were very common in all the epinician poets.

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⁹ *Lyra Graeca* (Loeb Classical Library), London and New York, 1924, vol. II, p. 338, frag. 97. This fragment is preserved in Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, 98, 29, but is omitted by Diehl.

THE USE OF GREEK WORDS BY PLAUTUS.

[An analysis of the scenes and situations in which Greek words appear shows that in some plays they are well scattered with apparently little purpose, whereas in others they are highly concentrated where the action is inorganic or dull, especially in monologues and in the mouths of slaves. When the plays are arranged in sequence according to the increasing skill in the distribution of Greek words, this sequence will be seen to agree markedly with most conjectures of the chronology of the plays. It is therefore concluded that an important feature in the development of Plautus' style was an increasing ability to use Greek words and words of foreign flavor as a rhetorical embellishment to his art.]

The fact that the only two plays of Plautus containing more than a single word or phrase of pure Greek, the *Pseudolus* and the *Trinummus*, can both be reasonably dated in the later years of Plautus' activity,¹ suggests that an investigation of the Greek words and words of Greek flavor might reveal corroborative evidence for the chronology of the plays. A simple counting, however, of words selected for that purpose yields percentages some of which conflict with the few known or soundly deduced dates.² The averages obtained, however, show a wide variation in the ratio of Greek words to the number of lines in the play (1:15½ to 1:37); further investigation, therefore, is warranted. An inquiry into the situations and conversations in which these words occur yielded the results recorded in this paper. There is a clear relationship between the distribution of these words and the chronological sequence of the plays; Plautus' artistry in using them developed with his years.

Many studies have been made on Greek words in Latin, and in Plautus in particular.³ These, however, treat only the words,

¹ *Pseudolus*, 191 B. C. by didascalie notice; *Trinummus*, after 194 B. C. Cf. M. Schanz-C. Hosius, *Geschichte der Röm. Lit.* (I. Müller, *Handb. d. klass. Alter.*, 4th ed., 1927), p. 72 and T. Frank, *A. J. P.*, LIII (1932), p. 156. The definite date, 187 B. C. is suggested in the latter article.

² The *Stichus* (200 B. C.) has a higher percentage than the late *Pseud.* and *Trin.* The *Casina*, usually accepted as late, has the third lowest average. The early *Poenulus* and *Miles* stand twelfth and thirteenth respectively in the list from lowest to highest.

³ O. Goerke, *Symbola ad vocabula Graeca in linguam Lat. recepta*, ciss., Regimonti Pr., 1868. N. Tuchtaendler, *De vocabulis Graecis in*

their forms, meaning, and derivation. The indices of Greek words in all of these works differ little from each other. Bostroem alone attempts to discover *reasons* for the use of Greek, attributing all words either to "Graecam fabularum naturam", "versum", or "ioci causa.", but by far the greatest number to "linguae Latinae egestatem" (p. 3). It is true that "egestas" accounts for such words as *tragoedia*, *triobolus*, *petasus*, *halophanta* and others, but it is apparent that this same "egestas" has been invoked in behalf of many words which have Latin synonyms used elsewhere by Plautus (e. g., *eleutheria*, *libertas*; *architecton*, *faber*). "Graecam fabularum naturam", moreover, can apply only to particular episodes or topics of Greek nature, not to the plays as a whole. Else, since everything in Plautus (except a few definitely Roman references) is Greek in nature and yet the Greek words are relatively few, there would be no limit to this class. Nor do I believe that "versum" can be held responsible for Graecisms; is a poet worth the name who resorts to a Greek word simply because the Latin will not fit the meter (*strategus*, *Stich.* 702-705; why not *dux* or *magister*, the master of the feast)? There is clearly some other motivation for these words. The class, "ioci causa", however, is far more accurately chosen. It should, I believe, include all words not soundly placed in the small groups "egestas" and "Graecam fabularum naturam".

Kahle's work is morphological: his interest is to determine which words had been "in sermonem Latinum vere recepta". He therefore lists as Greek only those which cannot be shown to have been communicated to Rome before Plautus' time, those which have not undergone change in form, those which have not taken Latin inflexions inconsistent with the Greek form (*symbolus* but not *symbola*), or those not bearing Latin suffixes and prefixes which show with what familiarity the Romans used them (*subbasilicanos*, *cistellula*). These Greek words, especially

ling. Lat. translatis, diss., Berol., 1876. H. Rassow, "De Plauti substantivis," *Jahrb. f. kl. Phil.*, Suppl. Bd. XII (1881), pp. 591 ff. O. Weise, *Die Griechischen Wörter im Latein*, Leipzig, 1882. K. Himer, *Rechka slova v palliatach Plautovykh*, Prag, 1895. E. Bostroem, *De vocab. Graecis apud Plautum*, diss., New York, 1902. W. Kahle, *De vocab. Graecis Plauti aetate in sermonem Latinum vere receptis*, diss., Westfal., 1918.

if they have no Latin synonyms or designate things he does not believe familiar to the Romans, are marked "vocabula peregrina", 114 in number, including some compounds whose admission is strange⁴ (*parasitatio, supparasitor, sycophantor*). His reasoning is often not cogent (*parasitatio, syllaba*) and omissions are numerous (*eleutheria, apalus, ictis, campe*, and many others).

The lists of Tuchhaendler, Rassow, Himer, and Bostroem are more useful since my purpose is to use words not only Greek in themselves, but all which to the Roman ear may have had a Greek flavor. Since, in so subjective and intangible a problem, there is no sure criterion on which to base a choice, the following discussion of foreign words in English will explain why my index agrees more closely with the liberal selection of those of the four scholars above mentioned than with that of Kahle.

Some words brought into English have lost all their foreign flavor, especially those in the commonest daily use (*garage, hangar, chef, chaperon*). Yet even daily use does not always cause the loss of this flavor (*deluxe, garçon, tête-à-tête, rendezvous, au revoir*, and many expressions even when atrociously spelled, *parleyvoo* and *servy*). These are the common property of all Americans; many more, used by cultured people, are readily understood if not habitually used by those less versed in languages (*bon-bon, portmanteau, coiffeur, bravo, braggadocio, siesta*). These, if used by the mass of the people, imply an amusing elegance or an assumption of airs; *milliner*, for example, though all connection with Milan is lost, is more elegant than *hat shop*; similarly *modiste, lavalière, lingerie* have an air of exquisiteness over their prosaic synonyms. So on up the scale to such definitely foreign words as *cortège, impasse, empressment*, and phrases as *idées fixes, au courant, au grand sérieux*, still printed in italics.⁵

⁴ Others are evidently included because the Greek suffix is identical with the Latin: *-ikos, -icus* and *-ikos, -isso*.

⁵ If appeal is made to "agestas" of the English language, it may be observed that even words for which we have no equivalent have not lost their foreign flavor (*trousseau, layette, gamin, consommé, foyer, liaison, Sachlichkeit*); no one of these words, if used accurately, can be expressed in English by less than two words. More often a whole sentence is necessary.

The foreign air of a word common in English may degenerate into mere elegance or posing, yet the air remains. Therefore, since the "egestas" of Latin could have been avoided, and since the "Graeca fabularum natura" has been shown to be too broad a term, I believe that Plautus used Greek primarily "ioci causa et elegantiae."⁶

I have considered, then, all words bearing a reasonably close resemblance to the Greek. All the indices (save that of Kahle), as well as my own lists, agree closely with those words marked as Greek (†) in Harper's Dictionary, except that Harper's does not mark strictly Latin formations on Greek words. Such words, it will be observed, have only been used when they appear in conjunction with other words of clearer Greek flavor. Others, not marked with †, but clearly Greek according to the etymologies in Harper's (by the use of the notation =) and in Walde's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, have been similarly used. Some words, omitted by Kahle, but expressed in Harper's by † or =, can hardly, from their extreme morphological change or from their frequency throughout the plays, be regarded as adding to the Greek flavor of a particular passage.⁷ Such words seem to me to belong to the *garage, chaperon* variety. A few words requiring special discussion will be referred to in the notes in their proper places. Words denoting foods, oils, perfumes, and so forth, though usually identical in both languages and common to the Roman, nevertheless must have suggested to the Roman of Plautus' day the luxury and elegance of Greek life and have hence been used as Greek coloring in this study; they probably stood in much the same relation to the Romans as does a moderately Gallicized menu to us. Similarly, Greek sporting terms

⁶ Another means of elegant posing in English, by no means uncommon in Plautus, is word-coining (*lubritorium*) and artificial archaizing (*Ye Olde Sandwiche Shoppe*).

⁷ E. g., *epistula, fidicina, hilarus, latro, mina, nummus, obsonor, parasitus, Philippus, purpura, rosa, talentum, vinum, violarius*. Though the Romans were doubtless familiar with the Greek monetary system, I have retained *tetradrachma* as a Greek word because of the *tetra-* prefix. The simple word *drachma* appears only three times, and has little importance whether counted or not, but *drachmisso* (-ισσo) must be retained. A few other purely Greek words must be eliminated because of their common bearing on the plays themselves, e. g., *tragoedia, comoedia*.

suggested types of exercises generally alien to the Romans; cricket and rugby terms may serve as a modern parallel. Finally, it must always be borne in mind that even a word which we may think of as having been very common to the Roman may, by a slight change of pronunciation, have suggested a Greek flavor; the two pronunciations of *valet*, *coupe*, or *sabotage*, suggest how simply a change of effect may be produced.

The subjectivity of my choice of words cannot be denied since it is impossible in any way to determine accurately what proportion of the audience might be familiar with this or that word. In all probability one would understand where another might not.⁸ However, by making my choice as wide as possible (since the words therefore appear *passim* in many different situations) the following analyses of the plays have been made the more sound inasmuch as it is the concentration of these terms in small parts of plays which will be seen to be the determining factor in the conclusion. These analyses will show into which of three hypothetical groups each play falls: I, those in which the Greek words are well scattered throughout the play and used with no apparent purpose; II, those in which a definite tendency toward concentration and artistic use appears; and III, those in which the words are clearly concentrated and distributed with an artistic purpose.

Six Greek words appear in the prologue to the *Amphitruo*. Four more occur in 1011-1012 (and *eugae* in 1018) a speech dealing with various shops in which Amphitruo searched for Naucrates. Eight of these ten are Greek even according to Kahle; others in the play marked by him as Greek are *mastigia* in a fragment, *eugae* in a tensely dramatic situation after the

⁸ There is no doubt that within the lifetime of Plautus the Romans learned more and more Greek. One has but to review the dates of the Punic and Macedonian wars to realize this. It is also an undoubted fact that most of the Greek used by Plautus is of the type which could well be picked up by soldiers fighting on foreign soil (Cf. T. Frank, *Life and Literature in the Roman Republic*, pp. 169 ff.). But the familiarity which we assume the soldiers had with these words does not prove that they had lost all their Greek flavor. Words learned by American soldiers in France during 1917-1918 may have a place in our dictionaries and in our speech and still not sound as ordinary English to us. Words may be familiar and still be foreign.

startling *accubusti* (802), and *apage* (310, 579) less artistically conceived. The most amusing scene (Sosia and Mercury, 153-462) is embellished only with *apage* when the two first meet, and *attat*, 263, well placed at the beginning of the fray. Similarly 383-955, in which Jupiter tries to straighten himself with Alcmena, needs and has no Greek ornament. These comprise most of the concentration, or lack thereof, for the number of Greek words in this play is very small. This may be due, in part at least, to the unique fact that the play derives its amusement from mythological travesty rather than from more usual Plautine methods. The definite tendency toward concentration in this play places it clearly in Group II.

The *Asinaria* has but nine words listed by Kaile as Greek, of which one, *syngraphus*, appears three times and is really a part of the plot. The others, *aer*,⁹ *gymnasium*, *nauclicus*, *propino*, *poema*, *scyphos*, *sycophantia*, are well scattered, and are not supported by other words of foreign feeling. One Greek word, with a Latin inflection, is used, *badizas*, 706, familiar to Roman soldiers from the earliest days of warfare with Greek-speaking peoples. Libanus uses the word in contrast to *tolulim* and directly after *incedis*, for variety and comic effect in a farcical scene. No concentration can be noted beyond the loving names which Libanus imposes upon his helpless master, where *columbam* and *monerulam*, though combined with other Latin epithets, definitely suggest Grecian daintiness, 693. Those scenes in which the intrigue is planned, 266-380, and the trader disposed of, 402-504, show slight diminution of Greek coloring, for the interest precludes the need of such embellishment, except a few lofty sounding business terms by the posing Leonida. These two scenes only, however, cannot counteract the absence of designed distribution elsewhere. The *Asinaria* then falls into Group I.

The *Aulularia* has two passages of prime importance. 508-522 is the conclusion of a long and unembellished discourse on feminine economies, but when at the end the subject suddenly changes to feminine luxury and extravagance, it is highly sig-

⁹ Used in a Greek proverb, 99. So too in Enn., *Ann.*, 148. Cf. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtl. Redensarten d. Römer*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 364.

nificant that eleven Greek words are introduced, e. g., *molo-chinarius*, *murobatharii*, *stropharii*, *zonarii*, *t(p?)hylacistae*, *corcolarii*. The other is a long passage dealing chiefly with food and feasts, wherefore we are not surprised to find in 280-460 fourteen words, some culinary, some (*gymnasium*, *cinaedus*) of other color. *Eugae* (*bis*, 677) is excellently placed in the mouth of Strobilus at the exciting moment that he sees Euclio hiding the gold. *Harpago*, *zuxia*, and *polypus*, though all within five lines (197-201) are less carefully placed. *Dicz*, 760, is the only foreign word in the amusing conversation at cross purposes, 731-807. No Greek appears in the serious conversation between Megaronides and Euclio, 537-586. The remaining words, less than twelve, are scattered *passim* and in fragments. The absence of Greek words in serious discussions between *senes*, and in scenes in which the amusement is dependent upon an anomalous situation is noteworthy. The dependence of the entire play upon misunderstandings and humorous delineation of character rather than on clever dialogue is responsible probably for the extreme paucity of Greek words, although the careful disposition of the few employed places the *Aulularia* very close to Group III.

The *Bacchides* has over forty words of Greek flavor, and their concentration is high. Pistoclerus, 65-73, compares the healthy military life to that of the debauchee, using nine different Greek words, some of which suggest the foppishness of the Greeks (*cantharum*, *scaphium*, *malacum*) to which Bacchis adds *mala-cissandus es*. In the same scene we find *Bacchas bacchanal*, 53, emphasis on various forms of *epscinium*, 96-97. Throughout the next sixty lines the conversation is of a more serious nature, but, with the appearance of the slave Chrysalus, 170, Greek flavor, especially plays on words, becomes prominent, but only in his mouth (note especially the three doublets within sixteen lines, 232-248); Greek words continue frequently until line 367. The careful expository interlude, 368-404, is markedly free from any Greek, but when Lydus emphasizes the value of exercise, 419 ff., the concentration is extremely noticeable: six Greek words, three of them used here only, color his speech. Throughout the central portion of the play, where the complicated double plot well holds the interest, no Greek is necessary and little appears,

525-979.¹⁰ Nor does the balance of the play hold much, save *eugae* dramatically placed in 991 and again in 1105 following *fungi, bardi, blenni*. Of 79 foreign words 62 fall previous to line 525; of the balance we have already noted six; of the remaining eleven ten are spoken by Chrysalus, and usually finely used (note especially 725). The concentration and artistry in the *Bacchides* place it without question in Group III.

Among the well scattered words in the *Captivi* a few indications of purposeful arrangement are clear. The long monodies of Ergasilus the parasite carry more than one-eighth of the entire number of words of Greek flavor, though they occupy less than one-tenth of the play. His part in dialogues adds nine more words (795-796 on war and 850-851 on food) in addition to the Greek oaths by Latin place names (880-883). In the serious dialogue between Hegio and Tyndarus posing as a free man (250-449) there are only the business terms *trapezita* and *syngraphus*, though the asides of the freeborn Philoxenus, posing as a slave, are made to suit his assumed position: *philosophor* 284 and *eugae* 274. So too in the most rapidly moving scene in the play, 532-655, only five words are used. In addition to these there are some thirty-five words well scattered, including eleven of Kahle's list. It is clear that the *Captivi* falls fairly into Group II.

The words in the *Casina*, though few, are arranged with a purpose. The rapid action, 1-436, shows extraordinarily few scattered words. In the next scene the artificiality, not elsewhere practised by Plautus, of keeping an eavesdropper hidden for a whole scene is relieved by a very dramatic *attatae* (468), a series of Greek words relating to food as well as Latin ones, all cleverly parodied by Chalinus, and by the uniform high color of the latter's necessarily brief asides. All the Greek words except one are spoken by this slave. From 515 to 719 the plot assumes a renewed activity; an occasional expletive suffices for Greek coloring. Here, however, a cook enters and with him an abrupt change in tone. The action, standing still, gives way to

¹⁰ This includes the so-called Troy-monody of Chrysalus in which the Greek coloring is so well infused by proper names that only *lembus*, 958, is used.

comic effect produced by dialogue including *heia*, *attat*, *barbarico bliteo*, and the highly important passage, 728-730:

OL. . . . *enim vero πράγματά μοι τρέχεις.*

LY. *dabo tibi μέγα κακόν, ut ego ὑπὸν, nisi resistis.* OL. ὦ Ζεῦ.

The first phrase is little more than an elaborate reference to *ennui*, whereas the second could be no mystery less than sixty years after the death of Callimachus. After the last Greek words in this scene (748), the action again becomes organic and holds the interest by this means. No Greek appears until 796, the bridal procession, wherein the foreign flavor is almost overwhelming. There follows an interval of more solid Latinity, and then the final scenes of vituperation and disgrace again colored highly (*baccha*, *moechisso*, *nautea*, *babae*, *papae*). The *Casina* is surpassed by few plays in the artistry of disposition, and unquestionably falls into Group III.

The Greek words scattered through the mutilated scenes of the *Cistellaria* show no concentration. The evidence, unsatisfactory as it is, points toward Group I.

The *Curculio* has three clearly concentrated passages: the drunken Leæna's eulogy of wine with *euax* and a list which must have sounded like a French menu (96-102); Curculio's entrance with the typical foreign airs of a parasite's monologue (cf. especially 285-286 for Greek official titles, and 290-292); the unparalleled artificiality of the appearance of the *choragus* is justified by the humorous allusions to Roman topography after a definitely Greek touch at the opening (*halophantem an sycophantam*, the more noticeable for its rhyming swing). But these passages comprise less than half of over 40 Greek words; the others, too, are well concentrated. The opening expository scene is free from foreign words (cf. the similar scene in the *Pseudolus*) until the conversation turns to wine (75-90) and introduces Leæna. The parasite's military manner and discussion of war, embellished here and there (394-424), enlivens a business conversation which otherwise would not suffer from curtailment. Lines 487-555, developing the plot, have no Graecisms, but the arrival of the *miles* introduces many military terms (557-590). The anagnorisis and denouement show Greek influence only occasionally (611, 632 military again and *trapezita*, *passim*). Less than half a dozen other words are scat-

tered through the play (202, 220, 239, 359). The play falls clearly into Group III.¹¹

The *Epidicus* offers no such clear lines of demarcation. There are but two passages of note: 230-233, a playful repartee on dress involving many words reminiscent of Paris shops, and *basilice, gerrae, exoticum*; a passage closely resembling *Amph.* 1011-1012 in thought and expression. This passage is important, not for the mere two words involved (*gymnasium, myropola*) but because in similar circumstances the *Amphitruo* contains six. This is highly suggestive and will be commented upon later. In the remainder of the play the only significant scenes are IV, 1 and 2 holding the main threads of the plot, which have no embellishment. Elsewhere there are a few well conceived Graecisms (356, 457, 493), and effects by Epidicus (*pugilice atque athletice*, 20 and *apolactize*, 678). Many other words are scattered throughout the play¹² the placing of which in Group I is prevented only by the two passages discussed above. It falls, perhaps, between Groups I and II.

The grouping of three Greek topographical verbs in two lines of the *Menaechmi* (11-12) is no index to the rest of the play. The absence of Greek in the monologues of the parasite (cf. *Captivi*) is in significant opposition to the practice in the *Curculio* (Group III). On the other hand we find some slight conformance to the principles we have seen developing in that the final hundred lines, entirely devoted to the anagnorisis, are singularly free from Greek coloring. Beyond these few notations, however, the *Menaechmi* affords a good example of the scattered and artless use of Greek, for, in spite of having an extremely self-sufficient plot, it has an average number of Greek words. It certainly falls then, near, if not in, Group I.

¹¹ It must be remembered that the large proportion of Greek words in the *Curculio* (the highest of all) does not necessarily link this play with the *Stichus* (the next highest) in time. The words in the latter play are well scattered, and the play falls between Groups I and II. It may be conjectured that since both these plays have plots among the weakest in the entire Plautine corpus, the large number of Graecisms may have been deliberate efforts to enliven a feeble play, well done in one case, poorly in the other.

¹² Note especially the remarkable frequency of the otherwise rare word *exentero*. Cf. F. W. Hall, *O. Q.*, XX (1926), p. 2 for a discussion and bibliography of Plautus' linguistic "obsessions."

The *Mercator* has few Greek words, and of these it is difficult to discern any careful disposition. A slight lowering of the percentage of Greek may be observed in 272-468 and 800-900, wherein the main interests are plot and Eutychus' dramatic intention to depart. Perhaps in the latter passage the amusement was more dependent upon the ridiculous melodrama.¹³ These negative indications are not supported by any noticeable concentration. The *Mercator* falls therefore in Group I.

Neither are the large number of Greek words in the *Miles Gloriosus*, only commensurate with its length, concentrated. Only a few passages suggest apt use of Greek. Periplectomenos' comment upon the attitudinizing Palaestrio (*eugae, euscheme hercle astitit et dulice et comoedice*, 213) adds color to the reference to Naevius (211) as a *poeta barbarus*. The slightly lower proportion of Greek in 370-595, where the interest is held by duping Sceledrus, is balanced by the appearance of the only real Greek, a pun on the name Dicaea (438). Two scenes, 991-1093 and 1216-1281, in which the interest depends upon imposture, have little Greek flavor, whereas the intervening section of non-essential discussion contains more than its share. But these few scenes in a very long play do not even show the degree of concentration we have noted in other plays, and, with the generous scattering of Greek elsewhere, it is without hesitation that the *Miles* is placed in Group I.

The *Mostellaria* betrays considerable evidence of careful distribution. The exposition (1-83) has only two words; the monody of Philolaches is wholly Roman even to the use of *faber* where *architectus* or *architecton* might occasion no surprise (cf. *Miles*, 919, *fabri architectique*). The toilet scene contains nine words including three different forms of *purpura*; this embellishment is in keeping with the subjects discussed, and the expletives are spoken, properly enough, by Philolaches. Tranio, beginning the intrigue, 348-407, reduces, as expected, the Greek coloring; there are only the amusing hybrid compounds (356). This restraint is maintained through the development of the intrigue to 531, and to a lesser degree to 698. Examples of finely conceived expletives throughout these sec-

¹³ Such as the parody of tragedy suggested by T. Frank, *A. J. P.*, LIII (1932), pp. 243 ff.

tions are found in 585 f., 638, 686. When Theopropides looks over Simo's house (690-858) we find little beyond a few foreign architectural terms (756 ff.); the situation carries the interest. The action continues rapidly colored here and there (875, 931, 952, 973, 981 f.). Though not carefully concentrated these passages contrast sharply with the remainder of the play in which the denouement claims the interest, and Greek coloring fades even more. The *Mostellaria* shows Plautus' artistry half developed, falling clearly in Group II.¹⁴

The *Persa* exemplifies exceedingly careful distribution. The exposition shows only a pompous reference to the pleasures of love, concluding, fittingly, with *basilice*, *agito*, *eleutheria* (29) and the highly affected *morologus* (49). The first mass of foreign words is reserved for the parasite (cf. especially 81-167). Here the action is slow and the conversation turns to the usual parasite's subject; *collyrae*, *collyricum*, *colyphia*, *cynicus*, *causia*, *chlamys*, *eu*, *πόθεν*, represent eight of Kahle's words of which there are eighteen in the play. Next, the maledictions of Sophoclidisca and Paegnium are sufficiently virulent in Latin (cf. only *eia beia* and *tippula*). Plot now takes precedence and the Greek almost disappears (cf. a fine usage in 306). Saturio's artfully introduced Greek humor (389-396) ends a truly dramatic scene. After an interval of more Roman vituperation (406-426) and artistically placed in a pause before the main deception is Toxilus' elaborate admiration of the girl's disguise, 462 (*eugae*, *eugae*, *basilice*, *tiara*, *schema*, *graphice*, and Sagaristio's reply *tragici et comici*). This is concentration indeed. The few words scattered through the main deception are also generally well placed (interjection in 557 and 668, hybrid names in 702-706). Finally, in the revels of the last hundred lines deep foreign coloring returns, undoubtedly contributing to the orgiastic effect; *cyathos* (three times), *cantharos* (twice), *cinædus*, *babae*, *pausa*, *colaphos*, aided by *machina* and *basilice*, form an overwhelming average for a hundred lines. The *Persa* without question falls into Group III.

¹⁴ The play has a normal percentage of Greek words, but a very low percentage of Kahle's "vocabula peregrina",—a fact which may be attributed in part to the unique personality of Tranio upon whose deceptions the interest is centered even more than is usual in Plautus.

There is little concentration to be noted in the *Poenulus*. The words are scattered throughout, including one phrase of Greek (137). No short passage except 1310-1313 where names of foods are employed in malediction, appears to have been colored with Greek purposely. Of longer passages there are two in which Greek flavon is conspicuously absent; neither, however, is evidence of artful purpose: the long prologue and the Punic passage (930-1170). The *Poenulus* clearly falls in Group I.

The *Pseudolus* has the largest number of Greek words (70), even of Kahle's list (26); it contains six passages in which actual Greek is used. Of the other plays only the *Trinummus* has more than one. I, 1, the exposition, contains only a few colorless terms (cf. the *Curc.*). The blustering Ballio, I, 2, however, ornaments his tirade with insults and dainty Graecisms according to suitability (*plagis, excetra*,¹⁵ *flagitribae, harpaga, plagigera, peristrocata, tappetia, culleis, δύραμις*), thus adding to the bullying effect. In I, 3, where the plot takes precedence, little Greek is used, but when the conversation lapses into the essentially amusing and inorganic, the Greek effect is not lost (*inanilogistae* 255, *eugae* 323, *babae* and *bombax*, 365, add color when Latin curses have been exhausted). In the long dull I, 5 only the last forty lines are enlivened by promises of amazing tricks. The earlier part is highly embellished with Greek (*dictator Athenis Atticis, ὁ Ζεῦ, basilicum*, references to Socrates and Delphi, repeated variations of *vai γάρ*, and even Simo's anticipation of the last reply, 415-520). The boasting of II, 1 and the imposition on Harpax are amusing enough in themselves, and show only a few military terms and puns on Ballio and Harpax in Greek (the latter repeated in 1210). *Pseudolus'* triumphant monody immediately following is avowedly (*iam satis est philosophatum, aurichalco, eugae*, 686-392) in a Greek tone. Lines 394-715, before the serious plotting begins, are especially rich in Greek: *mortalis graphicus, ἐπερὶς, io io te te tyranne, paratragedat, eugae iam χάριν τούτῳ ποῶ* (*Pseudolus'* third pun on names). But when plotting is undertaken at 716, the only Greek color noticeable is in a few military terms (necessary to the plot) and an imitation of slave talk, 741-743. This is one

¹⁵ Etym.? Cf. Walde, *op. cit.*, s. v., "weder ἐχέδρα + ἐξέδρα noch ex aus ἐχ(ι)s) + cetra, noch, ἐκ-σκηθρα."

of the most artistically written scenes in Plautus. The cook interlude is less Greek than one might expect, perhaps because there is more genuine humor (except six food names in 814-836). The plot is dominant until Pseudolus' drunken appearance (1246) where Greek words are again frequent. The final scene, brimming with other entertainment, needs no further adornment. The *Pseudolus*, known to have been produced in 191 B. C., clearly shows extremely artful distribution, and therefore falls into Group III.

In the *Rudens* two passages, with fifteen¹⁶ of the sixty words in the play, are prominent: the *piscatores*' song (290-305) and the description of the contents of the *vidulus* (1313-1320). A dash of Greek color is lent to the description of the shipwreck by Sceparnio (163-170). The scenes between the girls and the priestess have nothing. After the fishermen's song, II, 2-7 are liberally scattered with Greek (15 words), though with little significance or concentration. The action of this static play occurs in 615-892, wherein scattered words may be found; the greatest concentration is in the outbursts of Trachalio (630-633). Gripus' long quarrel with Trachalio has only (1003-1014) five words and a reference to Thales, *mastigia* 1022, and *eugae* 1037. Later interests (the judgment, anagnorisis, *licet* and *censeo* scenes) do not fill completely the remaining four hundred lines. Lines 1281-1423 are a lame ending which three occurrences of *triobolus* do little to enliven. The *Rudens*, showing evidences of moderate concentration, falls into Group II.

The *Stichus*, like the *Persa*, has an extremely high percentage of Greek words, both of Kaible's "vocabula peregrina" and of my indices. This connection with the *Persa* is significant since slaves have large parts in both plays. Two passages only, however, betray concentration in brief compass: 376-381, a discussion by parasite and *puer* of dainties, and the slave banquet, especially 702-707 where drinking terms are numerous.¹⁷ Although these scenes contain about one-third of the Greek words in less than one-fifth of the play, the remaining words are well

¹⁶ Counting either *tetrachuma* (1314) read by Sonnenschein, *minaria* by Lindsay and Leo, or † *mna* by Goetz-Schoell.

¹⁷ ἡ πέντε ἡ ἑπτα πέν ἡ μὴ τέτρατα, a proverbial expression noted in Plut., *Quaest. Conv.*, III, 9, 1; Athenaeus, X, 426d; Eustathius, *In Od.*, p. 1624 *extr.*

scattered, except in the opening scene spoken by the girls and their father, which is fittingly more severe in tone. It is noteworthy that the words of the parasite are no more Greek than the general Greek tone of the whole play. The *Stichus*, which we know to have been produced in 200 B. C., shows some slight beginnings of concentration, and falls, therefore, between Groups I and II.

The *Trinummus* reveals more artistry. The opening serious scene, being between *senes*, is marked only by the superbly conceived *παῖσαι*, 187. Lysiteles' monody offers little more (*harpago* 239, *sandigerula* amidst a mass of caterers to women 253, *apage* 258, 266) perhaps because of the apparent seriousness of the discussion and the amusing setting. Similarly the talk of father and son (276-401), though not marked for its humor, is free from Greek because of its dignified tone. The slave Stasimus, however, signalizes his entrance with a list of caterers of dainties, 406-408, *argentum* οἶχεται 419, *trapezitae mille drachmarum Olympico*, 425, but he fittingly confines himself to asides (and interruptions) upon the entrance of Philto. When he again takes a major part in the conversation, he is launched upon the intrigue (515-501). In the development of the plot Greek words appear only here and there (625, 668-669, 725, 750, 767, and *sycophantæ*, *passim*); the most dramatic use is, naturally, by Stasimus, 705: *eugae, eugae, Lysiteles, πάλιν*. Charmides brings a lull in the Greek, which is well revived, however, by Stasimus upon his re-appearance (1008-1025), and even the *senex* himself, 1024, 1030. These words cease when the two meet, and the play ends with no further concentration. The *Trinummus* shows excellent distribution, but cannot compare with, for example, the *Persa* or *Pseudolus*. It falls, therefore, between Groups II and III.

The *Truculentus* offers several highly concentrated passages: 498-514, the boasting of Stratophanes; Cyamus' monody (551-577) with gifts for the *meretrix*, includes *domi quidquid habet excitur* ἔξω. Stratophanes again uses Greek words with excellent effect in his scornful disgust, 609-610. Another passage, slightly concentrated, is 942-954. Other scattered words are frequently well and dramatically employed. 186, 503. The linguistic peculiarities of *Truculentus* may serve in place of much that

might otherwise have been Greek (cf. the Punic in the *Poenulus*) in 256-321. The distribution is often of a negative character also: more exciting scenes have less Greek (352-447, 645-698, 854-892); and amusing monologues, too (22-94, 209-255, 448-481). The *Truculentus*, though by no means as well constructed as the *Pseudolus*, with which Cicero links¹⁸ it, warrants a position between Groups II and III.

These groups, when observed beside suggested chronologies,¹⁹ tell their own story:

		(Puttner)	(Sedgwick)	(Westaway)
I	{	Asin.	Miles	Merc.
		Merc.	Cist.	Cist.
		Cist.	Asin.	Asin.
		Miles	Capt.	Most.
		Poen.	Epid.	Men.
I-II	{	Men.	Men.	Poen.
		Stich.	Merc.	Trin.
		Epid.	Stich.	Miles
II	{	Capt.	Capt.	Stich.
		Most.	Men.	Epid.
		Rud.	Rud.	Aul.
		Most.	Aul.	Aul.
		Amph.	Amph.	Rud.
II-III	{	Aul.	Cist.	Persa
		Truc.	Rud.	Cure.
		Trin.	Truc.	Cure.
		Trin.	Most.	Pseud.
		Curc.	Trin.	Trin.
III	{	Pseud.	Bacch.	Bacch.
		Bacch.	Epid.	Truc.
		Poen.	Persa	Cas.
		Persa	Pseud.	
		Cas.	Cas.	

In so subjective a test as this it is not presumed to determine the order within each group, nor even to preserve the transition-groups inviolate, but the point of importance is this: the similarity of the sequence as a whole with the chronologies suggested cannot be dismissed as a coincidence.²⁰ There is an

¹⁸ *De Sen.*, XIV, 50.

¹⁹ V. Puttner, *Zur Chronologie der Plaut. Komödien*, progr. Ried, 1905-06. W. B. Sedgwick, *C. R.*, XXXIX (1925), pp. 55 ff.; *C. Q.*, XXIV (1930), pp. 102 ff. K. M. Westaway, *The Original Element in Plautus*, Cambridge, 1917. (In this work the *Amph.* and *Capt.* are not dated).

²⁰ If lines be drawn through the plays in four columns, it will be seen that there are few marked salients, some of which may be eliminated by

undeniable differentiation between early, middle, and late plays of our author. Greater variation among the middle plays is to be expected,²¹ since the differences are smaller and more difficult to detect, but it is highly significant that the grouping of five early plays (Group I) is generally agreed, and of four late ones (*Pseud.*, *Bacch.*, *Persa*, *Cas.*), and the indeterminate central position of *Stich.*, *Rud.*, *Aul.*, *Amph.* Aside from individual considerations which may have influenced Plautus in particular plays²² or at particular times, which we cannot determine now, we are irresistibly drawn to the conclusion not that the number of Greek words, but that the art with which Plautus used these words grew with the experience of years.

From the beginning Plautus naturally enough employed Greek words as rhetorical embellishments to the description of things or situations which themselves suggested Greece or Greek habits, as luxury, both culinary and sexual, Greek athletics and exercise, military language,—all of which would be familiar to Roman soldiers on foreign soil.²³ To this practice Plautus adhered even more strongly in the later plays. This, however, is of slight importance compared to the art which he learned about the turn of the second century, and which he practised with increasing skill for the remainder of his life. In his early

reference to the arguments of the scholar in question. In Puttner's list the only serious divergence is the *Poenulus* which he, most unconvincingly and in disagreement with all modern views, places in the last years of Plautus. Puttner's lists are based on meter and historical allusions. Sedgwick's list is constructed in accordance with the number of lyric lines per play increasing from the *Miles*. The disagreements here are *Trin.*, *Oist.*, and *Epid.* For the last two Sedgwick distrusts his own figures, because of mutilation and probable shortening respectively. The danger of too close reliance upon the details of order, against which he himself gives warning, is exemplified by his position of the *Trin.*, known to have been produced after 194 B. C., twelve places earlier than the *Pseud.*, 191 B. C. Westaway's list, based on increasing Roman elements, needs no comment beyond a reference to Sedgwick's just criticism (*C. Q.*, XXIV [1930], p. 105) of her unusual decision regarding the *Miles*.

²¹ Cf. the variant but generally central positions of the *Most.* and *Curo.*

²² Cf., however, F. W. Hall, *op. cit.* for several other linguistic observations.

²³ Cf. discussion by T. Frank, *Life and Literature*, pp. 69-73.

usage Greek words and even actual Greek (*Asin.*, *Miles*, *Poen.*, *Epid.*) were scattered through the plays to amuse the audience, but as a whole they were not arranged with any artistic purpose. He gradually concentrated these words where their numbers would have more effect than the same number scattered; moreover, he turned this effect to advantage by a careful selection of the scenes in which to use the words. Inorganic scenes are a characteristic particularly of ancient comedy; organic scenes are those in which the exposition is given, the plot planned and executed, and the discovery made. The remaining, inorganic, scenes of necessity hold less interest unless the author makes them amusing in themselves, in spite of their irrelevancy to the plot. Ancient playwrights (for this includes the original Greek writers) did this by introducing totally unnecessary characters (cooks, parasites, Lucio in the *Miles*) whose glib dialogue or monologue could justify itself. But much of this would be lost in translation, and was lost, until Plautus turned these apparently poor scenes into good ones by gradually concentrating his amusing and elegant Greek into these inorganic scenes. Conventional monologues, necessary in ancient drama for the expression of personal feeling, were also good fields for such adornment. Elsewhere, in the organic scenes, he reserved his Greek, especially interjections, for moments of particular drama or excitement,—as with us a “Bravo” is stronger and more impulsive, as well as more elegant, than the simple “Good” or “Fine”. By this means tedious scenes were enlivened, and elements alien to the plot, even if technically they had no more excuse for intruding, at least were the more amusing for the greater *chic* of the lines. In a word, plays were more artistically written regardless of the excellence of the particular intrigue employed.

But this development moved in another direction also. These words were not only concentrated in shorter passages, but they were concentrated into the mouths of characters where they would be more fitting and more clever. Leo long ago observed²⁴ that most of the actual Greek is spoken by slaves, or other persons of low standing. My analyses have shown an increasing tendency to place Greek words of all kinds into the mouths of

²⁴ *Hermes*, XVIII (1883), p. 568; *Plaut. Forsch.* 2nd ed., 1912, p. 106.

such persons; note the comparatively small amount of Greek in the parasites' parts in the *Men.*, *Capt.*, and *Stich.*, as compared with the later *Curr.* Monologues, already observed to be good subjects for embellishment, form a large part of the parasite's rôle (for he is rarely an organic part of the action; see above); the form and the character were both suited to Graecisms. This is true also of slaves, for they, in order to explain and rejoice over their stratagems, appear in monodies more prominently than free born characters. Greek color, moreover, is especially fitting to slaves as a vehicle for their vaunted cleverness and impudence, for to the Romans of Plautus' day slaves were commonly of foreign, and often of Greek tongue, if not as commonly as has formerly been supposed.²⁵

The result of this development on Plautus' art was a tremendous advance in the effect of many passages. An interesting example may be observed by comparing *Amph.* 1011-1012 with *Epid.* 197-200. These passages, long observed²⁶ to be identical in thought and purpose, reveal, in the greater number of Greek words employed in the *Amphitruo*, the careful artistry of the maturer playwright, who had learned the effect of "lubricatorium, pharmacist's shop, and tonsorial parlor" to be infinitely more telling than "filling station, drug store, and barber shop." Plautus has learned the art of concentration.

A final comparison which testifies to the development of this art may be seen in Tuchhaendler's indices of Greek words listed according to the type of speaker. Whether by design or chance, the three plays chosen for this purpose are the *Miles*, *Poenulus* and *Pseudolus*, thus affording a contrast of early and late plays. These lists²⁷ serve to confirm the conclusions to which I have come concerning the increasing attribution to such characters.

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²⁵ Cf. T. Frank, *Life and Literature*, p. 80.

²⁶ Puttner uses this very comparison as an index to the date of the *Amph.*, i. e., after an emporium had been built in Rome, 193.

²⁷ Tuchhaendler, *op. cit.*, p. 70; there is also (p. 69) a list of the speakers of all Greek words which appear but once in Plautus. The only comment is "Ex quo etiam illud apparebit maximam insignium traitorum partem in ore hominum inferioris ordinis, maxime servorum esse." Leo's observation (*Hermes*, XVII [1883], p. 566) took no note of this dissertation.

THE EXPENSE ACCOUNT OF THE SAMIAN WAR.

In reconstructing the document (*I. G.*, I², 293) which records the Athenian expenses for the Samian war in 441-439 B. C., I have offered an interpretation¹ which has found general acceptance in principle, but which has caused skepticism because of the long line of 93 letters used in the restorations. Woodward, for example, notes with surprise this supposed width of the stone,² and Wade-Gery remarks that the restored lines are almost "incredibly" long.³

This criticism is justified, and I have endeavored to find a satisfactory restoration which will permit the same logical interpretation of the document with a shorter line. One compelling reason for assuming a narrower stele is the relative thinness of the fragments, where both obverse and reverse surfaces are preserved. In documents of a similar category, it may be observed that *I. G.*, I², 296 has lines of 84 letters and is 0.204 m. thick, and that *I. G.*, I², 295 has lines of 33-35 letters and is 0.12 m. thick. Though this canon of proportions (of relative width to thickness of a stele) can be taken into account in only a general way, it does seem reasonable that 93 letters make too wide a stone, when the thickness is only 0.14 m. The following restoration is based upon a line of 64 instead of 93 letters.

I. G., I², 293

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 64

.....εκ[-----]
εσε[-----]
 ...σοσι[-----]
 ... Φρεά[ρριος-----]

5 Η[ΔΔ]ΤΤΤΤ [-----]

¹Αθηναῖοι ἀ[νέ]λυσαν ἐπὶ Τιμοκλέος καὶ ἐπὶ Μορυχίδο ἄρχοντος
²Αθηναίοις ἐς τὸν]

πρὸς Σαμίο[ς πόλεμον· τάδε παρέδωσαν ἡοι ταμίαι ἐκ πόλεος ἀπὸ
 τὸν χρημάτων τῆς]

³Αθηναίας Η[ολιάδος στρατηγοῖς τοῖς πρὸς Σαμίος· ἀνάλομα παρὰ
 ταμιῶν ἐκ πόλεο]

ς ἡοῖς Φυρό[μαχος ἐγραμμάτενε ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἡεῖ¹².....
 πρὸτος ἐγραμμά]

¹ Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, pp. 42-53, especially p. 47.

² *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, XX (1933), 198.

³ *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LIII (1933), 135.

- 10 τευε· ταμία[ι· - - - - - ε]
 χς Οἶο Ναυσ[- - - - -]
 ΗΗΗΗΠΔΠΤΤΤ [- - - - -]
 Παρὰ ταμῶ[ν ἐκ πόλεος ἡοῖς Δεμόστρατος ἐγραμμάτευε ἐπὶ τῆς
 βολῆς ἡεῖ Ἐπιχαρ]
 ἱνος Περαι[εὺς πρῶτος ἐγραμμά-ευε στρατηγοῖς τοῖς πρὸς Σαμίος
 ἀνάλομα ξεύτ]
- 15 ερον· ἡοῖδε [ταμία· ξεσαν· - - - - -]
 Ἀφιδναῖος [- - - - -]
 ΠΗΗΗΗΗΗΠΤΤΤΤ [- - - - -]
 χσύμπαντο[ς κεφάλαιον τῷ ἐς Βυζαντίος καὶ ἐς Σαμίος ἀναλόματος -]
 ΧΗ[Η]ΗΗ [- - - - -]
- 20 - - - - -
Fragmentum sedis incertae (E. M. 6755; cf. A. J. A.,
 XXXVIII [1934], 69, no. 5)
 - - - - - α - - - - -
 - - - - - ο ν ε - - - - -
 - - - - - ε σ ε - - - - -
 - - - - - β ο - - - - -
- 25 - - - - -

There is, indeed, one distinct advantage in this restoration, other than the appropriate narrower width of the stone, in that the phrase *φσεφισμένο τῷ δέμο τὲν ἄδειαν* is omitted from line 7. It is probable that the preliminary vote of *ἄδεια* for war loans was necessary only after the decrees of Kallias in 434 B. C.⁴

In line 15 I now restore *ἡοῖδε* in place of the earlier *ἡοι* δέ. Cf. *I. G.*, I², 90, line 44: *αἶδε πόλε[ς] ἐστίν*.

Since the names of the treasurers of Athena for 440-39 are known from *I. G.* I², 355,⁵ it is apparent that they cannot all be listed here in lines 15-16 with their demotics. This was originally my principal reason for positing a longer line; but it is possible that two or more demotics were omitted, thus allowing the present restoration of the text. A good example of a similar phenomenon at about this same time appears in *I. G.*, I², 358.⁶

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⁴ E. Meyer, *Forschungen*, II, p. 112, note 1.

⁵ Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, p. 40.

⁶ Cf. Meritt, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-40.

REPORTS.

PHILOLOGUS, LXXXVIII (N. F. XLII), 1933. Heft 3 and 4.

Pp. 245-253. Eduard Schwartz, *Zweispfachigkeit in den Kon-silsakten*. At least until the time of Justinian, the Church, like the Empire itself, was bilingual. All the councils of the Empire, except that of Sardika, were held in the Greek-speaking East. The evidence for the bilingual quality of the acts of the various councils is here presented. Various efforts were made to produce a *corpus canonum*; finally Pope Hormisdas caused to be prepared a corpus from Nicaea to Chalcedon with the Greek and Latin text in parallel columns. Only the preface to this work has survived.

Pp. 254-258. Leopold Wenger, *Superficies solo cedit*. This Roman principle, that a building erected on another's land became the property of the owner of the land, was spoken of in Roman law codes as though it existed in natural law. The principle may actually have developed from popular law, or it may have been influenced by Hellenistic practice.

Pp. 259-264. K. Latte, *Zu dem neuen Sophronfragment*. The text of the recently discovered fragment is given, and the content is explained as part of a magic charm addressed to Hecate. The piece was designed for recitation by a single actor. Fragments of this type serve to cast light on the mimes of Theocritus and Herodas.

Pp. 265-271. Rudolf Pfeiffer, *Ein Epodenfragment aus dem Iambenbuche des Kallimachos*. The epodic fragment recently published by Norsa and Vitelli is to be assigned to Callimachus, not to Archilochus. The text of the fragment is given, and the point is made that all criteria of language, style, and versification point to Callimachus as the author.

Pp. 272-295. Johannes Stroux, *Die Constitutio Antoniniana*. A discussion of Giessen papyrus No. 40 containing Caracalla's edict about Roman citizenship. Various attempts to restore the lacunae are discussed, and a new reading of the papyrus is offered in order to clear up the question concerning those people to whom the citizenship was to be extended and those to whom it was to be denied.

Pp. 296-301. Diedrich Schäfer, *Zu den ptolemäischen ΠΙΣΤΕΙΣ*. An examination of various types of safe-conduct dating back to the second century B. C., and a comparison of these with similar Coptic documents. These Ptolemaic safe-conduct passes are designed primarily to protect the holder against interference of various kinds.

Pp. 302-325. Richard Uhden, *Das Erdbild in der Tetrabiblos des Ptolemaios*. It appears that the map in the geographical chapter of the *Tetrabiblos* was the work of a Roman author, and was taken over by Ptolemy through intermediate sources. The source cannot be identified with any certainty. The map is elaborately discussed in all its aspects, and is compared with other ancient geographical descriptions. The article is illustrated with two sketches, the first of which is an attempted reconstruction of the Hellenistic-Roman map of the first century after Christ, the second a sketch of a similar map of the eleventh century.

Pp. 326-341. Friedrich Solmsen, *Die Theorie der Staatsformen bei Cicero de re publ. I*. Cicero's discussion of the various forms of government is examined in order to determine what the composition of the passage shows with regard to the sources employed. It is probable that the argument of Cicero goes back to a Peripatetic source. It may be concluded that in the theoretical discussion of the *mixtum genus* in Book I Cicero follows Dicaearchus, while in its application to Rome in Book II Polybius is the source.

Pp. 342-346. *Miszellen*. Karl Praechter (†), *Heraklit Fragm. 51 D. und die Aristoteleskommentatoren*. An attempt to explain Heraclitus' figure of the bow and the lyre. The commentators of Aristotle had said that of two mutually opposed elements, neither can exist without the other; this may be used to explain the similitude of the bow. It cannot be determined whether the connection which is here discussed is due to Heracliteans of the period of Aristotle or whether it is due to the Peripatetics themselves.

Pp. 347-361. Karl Deichgräber, *Hymnische Elemente in der philosophischen Prosa der Vorsokratiker*. An examination of the style of the fragment of Anaxagoras (B 12 Diels) shows certain elements whose origin may be traced back to religion and cult. It is difficult to say exactly what the source was; it may have been an Orphic hymn to Zeus. At any rate it may be said that the style of Anaxagoras, Diogenes, Philolaos and other Pre-Socratics has been influenced by monotheistic hymns.

Pp. 362-391. Walter Siegfried, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte von Aristoteles' Politik*. Aristotle's Politics was put together from papers left by him after his death. It is not a literary work, not a text-book, it is rather a preliminary collection of material. In point of time, Book I belongs between Books II and III. Books III-VI have a close connection. The oldest parts are Book II and Books VII/VIII. Next to these come I and III. The editor of the Politics had contented himself with putting together the papers left by Aristotle, and had avoided

any effort to reconcile the divergencies. This is an advantage because it allows us to observe how the work really grew.

Pp. 392-414. Ella Birmelin, *Die kunsttheoretischen Gedanken in Philostrats Apollonios*. Conclusion of the preceding article, pp. 149-180. We begin with a quotation from VI, 19 in which the phantasia theory is set forth. This is compared with the Aristotelian mimesis and is found to be substantially identical with it. In Aristotle phantasia is not an esthetic term; Philolaos carried it over from Peripatetic psychology into the criticism of art. The article closes with some observations on the mimesis theory of Antiochus in Cicero and Philostratus.

Pp. 415-442. Ferdinand Mentz, *Die klassischen Hundennamen*. Conclusion of the preceding article, pp. 104-129, and 181-202. The alphabetical list of dogs' names is brought to an end. At the end of the article is a list of Roman dogs' names, followed by some general observations on ancient nomenclature for pets.

Pp. 443-456. Günther Jachmann, *Zum Pseudolus des Plautus*. An effort to distinguish the Greek elements of the play from those added by Plautus. An effort is made to reconstruct the Greek original in some measure, and on the basis of this, conclusions are reached regarding the Plautine additions.

Pp. 457-466. Wilhelm Kroll, *Rhetorica*. Many of the so-called Stoic influences on Roman rhetoric are to be attributed elsewhere. In general the Stoic interest in rhetoric was theoretical rather than practical. Cicero, for instance, knew only the work of Cleanthes and Chrysippus, and neither of these had any practical validity. Neither is there any reason to believe in a Stoic-Pergamene grammar. The influences which were supposed to be Stoic are largely Peripatetic. As a matter of fact, rhetoric and grammar had their common roots in the first Sophistic; it was the Peripatetics who later developed both studies.

Pp. 467-487. *Miszellen*. Pp. 467-469. Kurt Latte, *Nachtrag zu dem neuen Sophronfragment S. 259 ff.* A recently discovered fragment which forms part of the previously discussed passage necessitates several revisions in the text as given there. Pp. 469-473. Ludwig Deubner, *Ein Punkt zum Aufbau des Carmen saeculare*. If we put a period after v. 44 we have the following arrangement: 3 strophes to Apollo and Diana, 5 to the goddesses of night, 3 to Apollo and Diana, 4 to Jupiter and Juno, 3 to Apollo and Diana, and the concluding strophe. The arrangement makes clear that Apollo and Diana rule the festival and its song; the total number of strophes (19) corresponds to the number of years of the Metonic cycle. Pp. 473-476. Josef Svennung, *Handschriften zu den ps.-klementinischen Recognitiones*. Various additions to the list given in Harnack. Pp. 476-

477. Fritz Walter, *Zu Ammianus Marcellinus*. Various corrections in the text. Pp. 477-482. Ernst Darmstaedter, *Anthemios und sein "künstliches Erdbeben" in Byzanz*. Agathias' description of the artificial earthquake produced by Anthemius probably did not present a good picture of the event since the author's ignorance of mechanics prevented him from understanding the experiment fully. On the other hand, a joke like that perpetrated by Anthemius would not necessarily involve any elaborate apparatus. Pp. 482-487. Otto Schroeder, *ΚΩΑΡΑΙΑ*. Wilamowitz had conjectured that the original Greek verse form was a free verse of four stresses or eight syllables. The present article is a discussion of various short verses which do not fit into this scheme together with some attempt to illustrate the connection between these short verses and other longer forms.

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ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES.

The American Council of Learned Societies offers in 1935 grants in aid of research and post-doctoral fellowships for training and research in the humanities. The grants are in two categories: small grants, not exceeding \$300, and larger grants, not exceeding \$1,000. Applicants for grants must possess the doctorate or its equivalent, and must be actually in need of the desired assistance and unable to secure it from other sources. The grants are made for specific purposes (other than living expenses or in lieu of salary), such as travel, photostats, secretarial assistance, etc., in connection with projects of research actually under way.

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REVIEWS.

STANISLAS LYONNET. Le parfait en arménien classique, principalement dans la traduction des évangiles et chez Eznik (=Collection linguistique publiée par la Société de Linguistique de Paris, xxxvii). Champion, Paris, 1933. 188 pp. 50 francs.

In 1911, Meillet wrote his 'L'Emploi des formes personnelles des verbes' (*MSLP* xvi, 92-131) as the fourth of his 'Recherches sur la syntaxe comparée de l'arménien', and in 1930, Vogt studied the difference in aspect between the present-imperfect and aorist in 'Les deux thèmes verbaux de l'arménien classique' (*Norsk tidsskrift for sprogvidenskab*, iv, 192-245). Paralleling Renou's *Valeur du parfait dans les hymnes védiques* (Paris, 1925) and Chantraine's *Histoire du parfait grec* (Paris, 1927; vols. xviii and xxi of the same series), we now have a careful study of the Armenian perfect by Father Lyonnet, a pupil of two of the most distinguished Armenists of Europe, M. Meillet of the Collège de France and Fr. Mariès of the Institut Catholique de Paris. The conclusions, which are sound throughout, are of value not only for Armenian and Indo-European linguistics, but also for Biblical exegesis. A check of Fr. Lyonnet's citations with the Gothic, Old Church Slavic, and Vulgate versions (the Syriac may be omitted here because of the totally different Semitic 'tense' system) shows that the delicacy of the relations of the Armenian perfect to the aorist and imperfect surpasses not only them—as one would expect—but even Greek itself. This is a welcome confirmation of an opinion that this reviewer has long held: *no Biblical exegesis or Biblical text-criticism is complete unless it carefully considers the Classical Armenian version* (cf. also F. Macler, *Le texte arménien de l'évangile d'après Matthieu et Marc*, Paris, 1919).

As an example of this delicacy we may cite Mk. v, 39: *τί θορυβέισθε καὶ κλαίετε*. Here the Vulgate, Gothic, and Old Church Slavic (Zographus) have, like the Greek, only presents (*quid turbamini et ploratis*; *ha nuhjoþ jah gretþ*; *čto mltvite i plačete*), but the Armenian has one perfect and one present: *zi xroveal ēk' ew layk'*, 'why are ye (now) in a tumultuous state (in consequence of past emotion) and (continuously) weeping?' (similarly the Anglo-Saxon version, made from Old Latin: *hwī synd ge gedréfede and wépaþ*?). The accuracy with which the Armenian text translates the real meaning without being bound to slavish rendering of form by form may be illustrated from John vi, 46: *οὐχὶ ὅτι τὸν Πατέρα ἐώρακέν τις, εἰ μὴ ὁ ὢν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὗτος ἐώρακεν τὸν Πατέρα* = *ibrew oç et'e z-Hayr uruk'*

teseal içē et'e oç cr ēn Ƴ-Astucoy, nč etes z-Hayr, 'not as if any one may be in the state of one who hath had sight of the Father (and is permanently affected thereby) except him who is from God; he hath seen the Father (as a definite fact, once and for all)'. Here the Greek perfect is rendered, according to its *nuances*, first by a perfect subjunctive, and then by an aorist indicative.

Fr. Lyonnet's conclusions may be summarised as follows. The perfect, 'generally speaking, does not indicate action (whether continuing without fixed termination—like the present—or ending at a definite point—like the aorist), but essentially a state acquired in consequence of action and resultant upon it' (pp. 9, 42-43, 67; cf. the two examples just quoted, and also John xviii, 37: *εἰς τοῦτο ἐλήλυθα εἰς τὸν κόσμον* = *i doyn isk ekeal em Ƴ-ašxarh*, 'for this am I come into the world [and am there present]', as contrasted with v, 43: *ἐγὼ ἐλήλυθα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Πατρὸς μου* = *es eki Ƴ-anun Hawr imoy*, 'I came [as a definite act] in My Father's name'). This state, however, is only that of the subject; the state of the object is not designated in the NT (pp. 90-91). Consequently, since in the latter case the action is emphasised, the perfect is avoided, and the aorist is used instead, as Mk. v, 34: *ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε* = *hawatk' k'o kecuçin z-k'ez*, 'thy faith saved thee' (as an act performed once and for all) (contrast Vulgate *salvāam fecit*, Anglo-Saxon *hāle gedȳde*). [Sometimes, however, the state of the object does seem to be expressed; cf. the passage Mk. xiii, 20, to be quoted presently.] In Eznik, the state of the object may be expressed, so that the perfect may be employed, as (p. 93) *vāsn aynorik t'oleal ē Astucoy z-Satanay*, 'therefore God hath left Satan (on earth, where he still remains)'.

The perfect of completed action is unknown in Classical Armenian, the aorist being used instead (pp. 104-112); and the pluperfect denotes the result of an act as laid in the past (p. 113), e. g., Lk. viii, 2: *ἐφ' ἧς δαίμόνια ἐπτά ἐξεληλύθει* = *Ƴ-ormē ewt'n dewn eleal ēr*, 'from whom seven devils had gone out (and remained out)', as contrasted with viii, 46: *ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔγνων δύναμιν ἐξεληλυθῖαν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ* = *š'anzi giçaci et'e zawrut'ivn el Ƴ-inēn*, 'for I perceived (as a fact) that power went forth (as an actual event) from Me (but did not remain outside Me)'. The pluperfect may also express anteriority of action (pp. 113-118), as John xix, 39: *ἦλθεν δὲ καὶ ὁ Νικodemος, ὁ ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν νυκτὸς τὸ πρῶτον* = *škn ew Nikodemos or ekealn ēr aƳ Yisus i giçeri z-aŋažinn*, 'and there came (as an actual event) also Nicodemus, who had first come (at an anterior time; cf. John iii, 1-2, *ἦλθεν* = *ekn*) to Jesus by night' (but had not remained with Him throughout His ministry).

In past unreal conditional sentences the verb of the protasis is normally in the pluperfect indicative, and that of the apodosis

in the imperfect indicative, though occasionally both clauses show the imperfect (pp. 118, 123, 127), as Mk. xiii, 20: *καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐκολόβωσεν ὁ Θεὸς τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας . . . οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη πᾶσα σὰρξ· ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς οὓς ἐξελέξατο ἐκολόβωσεν τὰς ἡμέρας* = *ew et'e oġ ēr karċeal Astucoy z-awursn z-aynosik . . . oġ aprēr amenayn marmīn: ayl vasn əntreloġ z-ors əntreac, karċeac z-awursn z-aynosik*, 'and except God had shortened those days (so that they remained shortened [?]) . . . no flesh escaped, but because of the elect whom He elected (as an act once and for all), He did (as matter of fact) shorten those days'; John iv, 10: *εἰ ᾗδεus τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ Θεοῦ . . . σὺ ἂν ἤτησας αὐτὸν καὶ ἔδωκεν ἂν σοι ὕδωρ ζῶν* = *et'e ġiteir du z-pargewsn Astucoy . . . du ardewk' xndreir i nmanē ew tayr k'ez ġur kendani*, 'if thou wert (continuously) knowing the gift of God, . . . thou wouldst be asking of Him, and He would be giving thee living water'. That we have here a very old construction seems clear from its regular occurrence in Greek (Goodwin, *Greek Moods and Tenses*, §§ 410, 435-440); and the indicative is occasionally found in the apodosis of unreal conditions in Latin, e.g., Tacitus, *Ann.* i, 63: *trudebanturque in paludem . . . ni Caesar productas legiones instruxisset*.

A special section (pp. 144-152) is devoted to compound tenses after *minċ ĵew* 'before', e.g., with the perfect indicative, Lk. ii, 21: *πρὸ τοῦ συλλημφθῆναι αὐτόν* = *minċ ĵew ytaċeal ēr z-na*, 'before (His Mother) had conceived Him', and with the perfect subjunctive, as John iv, 49: *Κύριε, κατάβηθι πρὶν ἀποθανεῖν τὸ παιδίον μου* = *Tēr, ēj minċ ĵew mēreal icē manukn im*, 'Lord, come down ere my child be dead'. The basal meaning of *minċ ĵew* is 'while . . . not yet' (p. 147), so that the full meaning of the last citation, for example, would be, 'come down while my child lies dying, (but) is not yet a corpse'. Fr. Lyonnet gives no etymology for *minċ*, and this reviewer knows of none that has been proposed. Perhaps, however, one may suggest that the word means 'one thing' > 'simultaneously' > 'while' (i.e., *mi* + *inċ*; cf. respectively Greek *μία* < **smia* and Sanskrit *kīmcit*), and that it may be comparable semantically with Latin *eādem operā*, *unā operā*, *unā* 'with the same (one) effort, at the same time, together', e.g., Plautus, *Capt.* 450, *eādem opera a praetōre sumam syngraphum*; *Amphit.* 338, *mandāta eri perierunt, una et Sōsia*.

A chapter is devoted to the perfect participle in pure nominal sentences (pp. 153-160), where it serves as a narrative tense—comparatively rare in the Gospels; and the results obtained are summarised in a conclusion (pp. 161-165).

The interesting Armenian construction in the transitive perfect merits further discussion than Fr. Lyonnet—who does not write from the linguistic point of view—has given it (pp. 68 sqq.). Here the verbal noun in *-eal* (formally coinciding in Armenian with the perfect participle) governs an object in the accusative,

the logical subject being in the possessive genitive, e.g., John iv, 29: ἴδετε ἄνθρωπον ὃς εἶπέν μοι πάντα ἃ ἐποίησα = *tesēk' z-ayr mi or asaç inj z-amenayn o- inç im gorzeal ē*, 'videte virum unum qui dixit mihi omnem quam rem mei facere est' = 'see a man who hath told me (as an actual event) every thing which I have done (and of which, consequently, I am now guilty)'. That this construction is a Caucasianism, as has been suggested, seems very unlikely (cf. also G. Deeters, *Armenisch und Südkaukasisch*, Leipzig, 1927, pp. 75-87). It appears to be simply a special development of one type of the numerous *nomina agentis* which govern accusatives (see Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, ii, 637-638, iii, 502, 946), and in particular it seems comparable to such types as Latin *quid tibi hanc curatissimam rem* (Plautus, *Amphit.* 519) and Lithuanian *tāra šepė būdavo jims* 'the building of thy ship' (cf. E. Fränkel, *Syntax der litauischen Kasus*, Kaunas, 1928, p. 101). Similarly *πολλάκις συνήχθη Ἰησοῦς ἐκεῖ μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ* (John xviii, 2) is rendered by *bazum angam žlotveal ēr andr Yisusi aiakertawh'n žanderj*, 'many times there was assembling there of Jesus with His disciples': *ἐχάρητε ἄν* (John xiv, 28) by *urax leal ēr jer*, 'there were rejoicing of you' = 'ye would have rejoiced'; and *ἀρ . . . μετενόησαν* (Mat. xi, 21 = Lk. x, 13) by *apašxareal ēr*, 'there had been repenting (of Tyre and Sidon)'.

One insignificant slip has been noticed: at least three instances of ἀφεω- are known instead of two (p. 56), the third being ἀφεωσθω τας μαρτυρίας (IG V, ii, 357¹² = Schwyzer, no. 668), 'let him be excused from testifying'.

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OTTO RIETH. *Grundbegriffe der Stoischen Ethik*. Berlin, 1933. Pp. 209. (Problemata, Heft 9.)

The problem of reconstructing the history of the Stoic philosophy is set forth in the early pages of this book with refreshing sanity. After an excellent criticism of the "methods" of Hirzel, Schmekel, and Reinhardt, all of whom sought to establish the peculiar doctrines of particular Stoics without any thorough consideration of the general Stoic doctrine or of its original nature in Chrysippus' teaching, although their own procedure thereby entailed a *petitio principii*, Rieth rightly says that our sources allow us in general only the reconstruction of what in Imperial times was considered the common Stoic system. In agreement with von Arnim that this was substantially the system of Chrysippus, he attempts a portrayal of Stoic ethics.

It is a pleasant surprise to discover that this projected treatment of the ethics never degenerates into mere dithyramb or

catalogue, the two common forms of the ethical treatise. The general thesis of the book is that the Stoic ethics is understood only by a careful study of Stoic logic; and practically the thesis is proved, for the ethical doctrines gain a consistency thereby which they seldom display in other treatments. That the logical doctrines were developed in consequence of the requirements of the ethics is made plausible; but it still seems likely that the Stoic categories are the result of direct logical criticism of Aristotle's categories and not simply the outcome of Stoical ethical requirements. (In particular the category *ὑποκείμενον* looks like an outgrowth of criticism of the emptiness of the Aristotelian *οὐσία*.)

Rieth succeeds in refuting completely the common notion that each category contains the preceding one within itself. According to his interpretation 1) *ὑποκείμενα* are necessarily *ποιά*, 2) *πρός τί πως ἔχοντα* are necessarily *πῶς ἔχοντα*, 3) *ποιά* must be either *ὑποκείμενα ὅτ' πῶς ἔχοντα* and cannot be both, 4) *πῶς ἔχοντα* must be either *ποιά ὅτ' πρὸς τί πως ἔχοντα* and cannot be both. (The statement on page 71: "oder ist es zusetzen und zugleich differenziert" is, at least, misleading. It cannot be right, lest every *πρὸς τί πως ἔχον* be also *ποιόν* which is impossible according to Simplicius 166, 12.)

The Stoic relationship of *διαίρεσις* and *ὅρος* is connected with the Platonic method, according to Rieth, who also sees the model for the Stoic progression from *ὑπογραφή* to *ὅρος* in the Academic sequence of concepts and on this basis claims that the Stoa consciously sought to make a synthesis of Plato and Antisthenes. Since the Stoic *διαίρεσις* depends upon the "natural" meaning of words and the ontological value of the grades in the Stoic and Platonic progressions admittedly proceeds in opposite directions, this argument is suspicious although the conclusion is not improbable.

The analysis of virtues as both *καθ' ἑαυτά* and *πρὸς τι*, the treatment of *ἐκλεκτικὴ ἀξία* (the identity of which with *καθήκοντα περιστοτικά* is established), and the treatment of the relationship of *ἕξις*, in its broad sense, with *ἐνέργεια* are all satisfying; and Rieth does good service in his analysis of *προκαταρκτικά* and *συνεργά* and their relationship to each other and to *συνεκτικά αἴτια*. The reconciliation of determinism and "freedom of the will" (which term is rightly rejected in its modern connotation as a translation of *τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν*) rests upon the conception of the soul as *συνεκτικὸν αἴτιον* which is *αὐτοτελές* in requiring no external object to make the man such a one as he is. The attempt in the last section, however, to render reasonable the combined notions of Fate and Responsibility was foredoomed to failure; it is a thankless task to undertake such a service for any monism.

The notion of "Renunciation" is rightly banished from Stoic ethics; Chrysippus objected to Aristo's doctrine because he

desired to save the material of virtue and, therefore, the differentiation of natural objects and actions. Along with the Academic "conformity with Nature," however, Chrysippus wanted to maintain the independence of Virtue; and Rieth shows the result of this in the gradations assumed by the Stoa in the *κατὰ φύσιν βίος* at the same time as the *εὐδαιμονία* of the Wise Man was held separate and unaltered in intensity despite the variation of the *προηγμένα* he might possess. Here, too, despite Rieth's efforts, an inner contradiction persists, due chiefly, I feel, to the lack of any final goal for the individual. Curiously, Rieth is certain that the Platonic ethics falls short of the unified virtue of the Stoics because the norm for Plato is the commonweal. This is a complete misunderstanding of Plato; but it points to the chasm at the end of the Stoic ethics. For Plato the goal is outside time and space—beyond this world; the Stoic virtue ends in resignation—proud, perhaps, but still resignation to one's "natural place" as a fixed part in the endless world-cycle.

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CHARLES T. SELTMAN. *Attic Vase-Painting* (Martin Classical Lectures, Volume III). Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1933. Pp. xxii + 97, figs. in text 17, pls. 37. \$1.50.

In a book of less than a hundred pages, originally five lectures delivered at Oberlin College, Mr. Seltman has given a brilliant account of the development of Attic vase-painting. Admittedly only a brief introduction to the subject, and the popularization which lectures for non-specialists must be, it is nevertheless based on the most recent studies. As anything in this field should, it derives throughout from the work of Professor Beazley, to whom the author pays tribute in his preface.

After a brief statement of the three-fold appeal of the study of ancient pottery, art is defined in the terms of its two rival interpretations, the *formal* and the *exuberant*, and the perfection of the great century of Attic vase-painting is attributed to the successful finding of the exact mean between the two. Elsewhere in the book, the transference of the treasury of the Delian Confederacy to Athens is seen as "the end of the Hellenic moral experiment," with its emphasis on moderation, and the beginning of the decline in the arts as in politics. The account of the earlier styles, though brief, builds up clearly from Geometric to fully-developed black-figure; the emphasis is placed on red-figure from the Andokides Painter to the Sotades Painter. The

last chapter discusses some of the later artists from the Niobid Painter to Aristophanes, and mentions developments in South Italy. While individuals may object that the black-figured style, white-ground lekythoi or the second half of the fifth century have been slighted, or that a certain painter or a favorite vase has been omitted, to this reviewer it seems that for the scope of his book the author has chosen and rejected wisely. A glossary of shape-names, illustrated by Caskey's drawings, and a chronological table for the styles and painters discussed are helpful additions. The plates are well chosen and the half-tones clear. The arrangement, with brief comments on the scene, approximate dates and references on the page opposite each illustration, is commendable.

The tale is told effectively, in a style which often reflects Beazley's terse and vivid phraseology. The descriptions of individual vases are frequently illuminating, and for the most part free from the tendencies to read into the picture and to sentimentalize which are apt to vitiate interpretations of works of art of any period. There are some entertaining bits: the retreating soldier on a cup by Skythes is "the Attic prototype of the Duke of Plaza Toro." The aesthetic importance of vase-painting in Athenian art of the late sixth and fifth centuries is rightly emphasized, although the statement (p. 89) that "the only 'canvas' for the painter, the only 'paper' for the draughtsman, was the surface of a vase" might lead the uninitiated into believing that there was no other painting during the period. The frequent superlatives may be attributed at least in part to the emphasis demanded by the lecture platform. Similarly, the need for brevity may account for certain statements which the author might have qualified in a more detailed discussion: for instance the implication (p. 5) that the art of Minoan Crete was concerned only with pattern.

To those interested in Greek civilization or the history of art, and to many others, the book will be a delightful introduction to an intricate subject; to the student of Greek archaeology it will have the value, often underestimated, of a fresh presentation of facts already known. The sponsors of the lectures and the publishers are to be thanked for offering so amply illustrated a volume at so modest a price.

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JOHN GARRETT WINTER. *Life and Letters in the Papyri*. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1933. Pp. viii + 308. \$3.50.

In this volume Professor Winter publishes the Jerome Lectures, which he delivered in 1929 and 1930. The copious notes which have been supplied greatly increase its usefulness.

In the first chapter, *Rome and the Romans in the Papyri* (pp. 1-45), the general Roman policy of extreme exploitation of the land and the people—a policy which worked for two centuries before beginning to fail—is commented on at the beginning, and a brief account is given of the relations of Rome and her rulers with Egypt during the whole period of the Empire. The subjects covered include the governmental organization under Rome, visits of Emperors and other eminent Romans to Egypt, the position of Roman citizens there, Caracalla's grant of Roman citizenship, Roman law, religion, and literature in Egypt, and the appearances of rival delegations of Greeks and Jews before the Emperor's court.

Chapters II and III, *The Life of the People* (pp. 46-135), introduce the reader to a great variety of topics in an order which follows in general the course of human life. Birth and the legal formalities connected with it, the exposure and adoption of children, education, apprenticeship, farming, letter writing, crime and punishment, marriage and divorce, family affection, death and burial, and letters of condolence, are all discussed, and illustrated from the papyri.

Chapter IV, *Evidences of Christianity in the Private Letters* (pp. 136-191), presents a generous selection from the Christian letters. Professor Winter seems to find in these documents much more evidence of the salutary "effects of the new faith . . . on life and conduct" (p. 148) than will probably appear evident to many readers.

Chapters V and VI are devoted to the contributions to Greek literature made by the papyri (V. *Additions to Greek Poetry*, pp. 192-237; VI. *Additions to Greek Prose*, pp. 238-276). As regards Hesiod, Lysias, lyric, elegiac, and epigrammatic poetry, tragedy, comedy, and romance, these chapters should now be read in connection with J. U. Powell's *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature, Third Series*, Oxford, 1933. Professor Winter gives a clear outline of the important additions from the papyri to the different types of literature. The account closes with some remarks on the revolution in the principles of textual criticism which the study of the literary papyri has brought about (pp. 271-3; particularly recommended to the attention of students of the Classics), and a summary of the available information as to what was read in Egypt in every period from Alexander to the Moslems (pp. 273-6).

The author states that his aim has been "to interest primarily those who are not specialists" in papyrology (p. v). The presence of a number of quotations in the original Greek gives the impression that the non-specialist audience for whom the book is designed consists chiefly of students and teachers of the Classics. But it is actually suitable for a much wider audience. All those who are at all concerned with ancient history or ancient life should find it exceedingly interesting, and the embryo papyrologist of the English-speaking world could read it with great profit before attacking Schubart's *Einführung in die Papyruskunde* and the *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie* of Mitteis and Wilcken.

The volume includes English versions of about 150 documents from the papyri, or of substantial portions of them. A number of these are translations of unpublished papyri in the Michigan collection (see the list on p. 287). These versions of new documents will interest the more mature papyrologist, who will also find in the volume a number of new interpretations of published papyri (see p. 290), and bibliographies (including works published up to some time in 1932) of a large number of subjects with which he is concerned. As these collections of references, scattered through the footnotes, will be quite useful for the next few years, I add a list of some of the most complete and important of them:

The Roman Occupation of Egypt. P. 2, n. 1.
 Edicts emanating from Rome. 6, 1.
 Roman Wills. 29, 2.

Private Life in general. 47, 1.
 Nursing Contracts. 55, 3.
 Slavery. 57, 1.
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Christianity. 136, 1.
 Biblical and Theological Texts. 138, 1.

Literary Papyri. 193, 1.
 Homer. 194, 2.
 Hesiod. 198, 1.
 Timotheus, *Persae*. 212, 1.
 Euripides. 221, 1.
 Menander. 227, 2.
 Herodotus. 239, 1.
Hellenica Oxyrhynchia. 241, 1.

A few notes on minor details follow:

Doubtless it is due to the fact that these chapters were delivered as lectures that we find two very similar treatments of Satyrus' Life of Euripides, one under drama (pp. 222-3), and

one under biography (pp. 261-2). In the book the two might well have been consolidated under biography, with a cross reference in the remarks on Euripides.

In the bibliography on Sophocles' *Ichneutae* (p. 219, n. 2), R. J. Walker's large edition of the play (London, 1919) obviously deserves a place.

In connection with the remarks on the word *λεβλάριος* in B. G. U. 423 (p. 42 and n. 3), it may be noted that in the republication of the text by Hunt and Edgar, *Select Papyri*, Vol. I (Loeb Classical Library, London, 1932), No. 112, the reading *λεβλάριος* is given.

With Professor Winter's translation (p. 152) of P. Lond. 417 comparison may now be made with that of Hunt and Edgar (No. 161); whose interpretation of one or two clauses is slightly different.

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JOSEPH EDWARD HARRY. Greek Tragedy: emendations, interpretations and critical notes. Vol. I: Aeschylus and Sophocles. New York, Columbia University Press, 1933.

This book, which will be followed by a volume on Euripides, gives us Professor Harry's personal notes on the three masters of Attic tragedy. He published an earlier and briefer series under the same title in the University of Cincinnati Studies in 1914. The present volume comprises introductory notes to each play, divided into hundred-line sections, a bibliography for each author (few general works on Greek drama are included), and suitable indices under numerous heads. There are enough misprints to illustrate the introductory remarks on manuscript corruption. (Oedipus Tryannus at the head of pp. 148-160 should certainly avert the gods' jealousy of human perfection.) Professor Harry comments on those matters, words and passages which seem to him to need comment. The scale of the comments therefore varies from place to place. Some of the introductions to a play are summary outlines of the story; others touch upon characters of the play and other noteworthy features. This reviewer wishes that these comments were more numerous; one or two specific additions are suggested below. The bibliography also varies as to fulness; the *Prometheus Bound* commands several sections, while discussions of other plays are assembled in the miscellaneous section. This miscellaneous section and its Sophoclean companion are somewhat confusing, since titles appear under a multiple-alphabetic series of authors' names, so that one dashes from A to Z and then returns to A, several times over. The detailed notes on readings and specific passages constitute the bulk of the work. Since Professor Harry has, under-

standably, not attempted to give us a complete apparatus criticus to each play, these notes seem somewhat overloaded with conjectures which are neither approved nor refuted, so that, for instance, the notes on Aeschylus occasionally look like a minute review of the editions of Mazon and Smyth. The worth of Professor Harry's suggestions must, of course, be tested bit by bit; certainly those readings and interpretations which rest on taste and a feeling for Greek must be appraised only by one whose acquaintance with Greek literature is as thorough and mature as Harry's own. As far, however, as this reviewer's impression goes, Harry has a just respect for the manuscripts and keeps his feet on paleographic terra firma in his discussions and decisions.

Some detailed comments and queries follow.

One wonders why a Homeric word in the *Persians* l. 277 is not appropriate in Aeschylus (cf. Harry's note on the *Seven* ll. 705-8, in which he accepts Homeric diction).

This reviewer disapproves violently of part of Harry's introductory note to the *Prometheus*. He is somewhat doubtful about the remarks on the location represented in the play. His violence, however, is directed against the comment, "That a lay figure was used to represent the Titan is, I think, beyond question". This is not the place to argue the point; however, those who saw the play given at the Delphic Festival of May, 1927, know that an actor can take the part, immobility, wedge through the chest, and all, with entire success.

On the other hand, I am much obliged to Professor Harry for his keen comment on the *Seven*, that Aeschylus speaks throughout the play, not of "Thebans", who were the traitor-enemies of Plataea, but of "Cadmeans" (Eteothebans, as it were), who were of the Age of the Heroes, and could enlist sympathy.

The comment on the ending of the *Seven* might advantageously be enlarged.

Is not Agamemnon above all else war-weary? Perhaps he "grandly talks of victory" (Harry, p. 50), but this one expects — it is not the most striking part of his speech, nor the part emphasized by position.

When Agamemnon is killed, Aeschylus by no means makes the guilt strike Clytemnestra alone (Harry, p. 52). Aegisthus is the viler sinner; for Clytemnestra there is some justification and a redeeming boldness, which qualify her crime and make it tragic.

To the comment on the site of Agamemnon's palace should be added a reference to Bill's article "The Location of the Palace of the Atridae in Greek Tragedy", *T. A. P. A.*, LXI (1930), in which a view opposing Harry's is upheld. (I do not find this article mentioned in the bibliography for Aeschylus.)

The Nurse in the *Choephoroe* does provide relief by bringing

a touch of everyday into the pomp of tragedy; it should be said, however, that her words about her care for baby Orestes have, for those with the necessary *πάθος μάθος*, an appositeness and poignancy that raise them above all grotesqueness and commonplace.

The suicide of Ajax was probably not the only death enacted on-stage, for Polyxena, in Sophocles' play of that name, was apparently sacrificed on the stage, or at least as near it as is Evadne in Euripides' *Suppliants*.

Surely the *Antigone* was not suggested by the conclusion of the *Seven*; if the latter is genuine, there was a pre-existing story of Antigone, and this is the source of Sophocles' play. Comment might well be added on the character of Creon and on the problem of the play — conscience vs. the State — a problem very much alive today. The *contaminatio* of the *Antigone* and *Oedipus at Colonus* (Harry assumes that the characters, notably Creon, are developed in the two plays with consistency, as if the plays were in a trilogy) leads, for this reviewer, to confusion, and false ideas of the characterization.

The comment on the conclusion of the *Electra* might well include a reference to Sheppard's contrary view (his article appears in the bibliography).

Is it not likely that the other plays of the trilogy were responsible for the defeat of *Oedipus the King*?

One must admire Professor Harry's devotion to Greek tragedy and his long and strenuous labors at the task of interpretation. The range of his study is remarkable. He offers citations from eight literatures as parallels to various passages — an especially admirable feature of this book. He shows poise and wariness before the pitfalls of his task. This book will be useful to everyone who wants to study specific details of the plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles.

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ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS.

Three fellowships of \$1,500 each are offered for 1935-1936 by The American School of Classical Studies at Athens to graduates and graduate students of colleges and universities in the United States, two fellowships in Greek archaeology, and one fellowship in the language, literature and history of the ancient Greeks. The fellowships are awarded on the basis of competitive examinations, to be held about Feb. 10, 1935. Applications, which must be made not later than January 1, 1935, and all inquiries about the fellowships should be addressed to the Chairman of the Committee on Fellowships, Professor Samuel E. Bassett, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont.

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